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ABSTRACT

This study examines the effectiveness of an accountability system--Alter--whose aim is to facilitate long-term planning. The purpose of the study was to develop a model that school systems can use in implementing accountability systems. The project explored the idea that when formal management systems are introduced into schools, they ignore individual reactions and thus elicit resistance. Questionnaires were distributed to the superintendent and his administrative staff, and interviews followed later. According to the report, the successful implementation of Alter depends on the ability of the organization's sentient system to sustain a level of sophisticated operation. (Author/LD)

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APPENDIX A

ACCOUNTABILITY AND THE KEPLER PUBLIC SCHOOLS

A Technical-Behavioral Analysis

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SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

THE SITUATION:

The Kepler School System attempts to maintain its integration in the face of a complex and rapidly changing environment. New residents and new ideas make for new demands from its local community. State and federal educational organizations put new constraints on its operations and at the same time give it new opportunities. Changing policies and politics, court decisions and economic conditions all bring pressures to bear. These pressures are not only new; they fluctuate in their intensity and compete for primacy of attention. The 'ability to pay' for educational resources seems basic to administrators and is affected by new tax structures, reduced receipts and changes in state allocation procedures. But these factors cannot be dealt with in isolation. The administrator must take account of increased community pressure for accountability, for demonstrated productivity. But he doesn't want to sacrific quality to economy, innovation to accountability. The primary response of the school system to this situation is diversification.

Teaching must be specialized to meet curricular demands. Administration must be specialized to meet organizational and environmental demands. The complexities of grantsmanship, development, plant management, labor negotiations and public relations each require focused attention. In many cases special personnel or departments must be assigned to deal with them--just as 'General Science' has given way to chemistry, biology, geology, physics and so forth. As teachers become

more aware of their own distinctive interests they are led to form an association to represent them. Various community groups attempt to press their special concerns. The school board takes an active role in the formulation of policy, the establishment of educational values. Each component of the educational system has its own distinctive ties to the external environment and its own internal values. If it did not it could not perform its specialized function. But the major question for the school system as such becomes 'how are all these specialisms to be made into one whole?' Or to put it another way, a crucial task of the system is to maintain integration in the face of differentiation.

This problem has two solutions, each inadequate without the other. The school system must be integrated as a system of persons and groups, and it must be integrated as a system of tasks. Each of these varieties of integration will have an effect on the other. No matter how well thought out the task system may be, it's practical operation will depend largely on the 'sentient' system of emotional identifications. The Kepler School System has introduced a formal accountability system called Project Alter and implemented BIC/UAS at the school level. Members of the system vary, however, in their attitudes toward Alter and their evaluations of it. In order to understand this variance, we must ask what Alter is in terms of both the task and sentient systems of the organization.

WHAT IS ALTER?

Alter is intended, more than anything else, to be an integrating

device. It is intended to integrate the organization's decision making and reporting of information. This special technology of integration is seen as necessary for three inter-connected reasons: 1) in order to allow for a greater and more efficient division of labor within the organization, 2) because the boundaries of different component groups within the system sometimes obscure their joint participation in and view of the whole, and 3) because of the sheer quantity of data which must be handled, and the speed of response which is necessary. In one sense, then Alter is a sophisticated way of letting administrators know what is going on in situations where they cannot have first hand knowledge. Its focus is on the formally defined tasks of the various components of the system, and on the extent to which they are fulfilled.

Alter itself is not only a task organization, however. It not only attempts to integrate the transactions across the various boundaries which already exist in the system, it creates new ones. This is not its purpose, to be sure, but neither is it in any way avoidable. It is for this reason that implementing Alter has proven to be a problem for the Kepler school system. The various operations of the accountability system involve breaches in the old set of boundaries. For one thing, it competes with previously existing ad hoc mechanisms for accomplishing the integration of decisions and information. These less formal mechanisms formed a system of interpersonal contacts and group identifications linking the various parts of the organization together. This sentient system was important to the people who were

part of it because it helped to give them their identity within the organization, and because it provided a measure of security and ability to understand the organization as a whole. It is not surprising that simple knowledge of the greater 'rationality' of the Alter system failed to compensate them for their loss of the earlier system.

Alter created a new set of persons and groups who are responsible for managing the integration of the system. Paradoxically, this produced yet another boundary to be managed--that between those within the formal Alter system and those without. Administrators in Kepler have recognized this problem, and attempted though with limited success to increase the extent of involvement of the entire school population in Alter. They encounter problems on at least two fronts in this attempt, however: first, is the inevitably greater sense of inclusion of those for whom Alter is a major speciality. Second are the difficulties of retracing the steps of a faulty implementation. A negative view of Alter is fixed in the minds of many members of the organization. Administrators are hampered by their persistent tendency to see Alter as solely a task organization and not also a sentient one.

Of course the emotional identification of administrators with Alter is not the least of its sentient aspects. Because administrators believe in the need for almost absolute efficiency, and because the complexities of running a school system make this an impossible goal, Alter takes on a symbolic as well as a practical mean-

ing for them. It represents the possibility of order where disorder is a pervasive threat. It stands for organization as against chaos, but it also stands for administration as against the rest of the system. In other words, administrators are invested in "owning" Alter themselves and not sharing it with the rest of the members of the system. Thus administrators seem sometimes to have unconsciously undercut their own efforts to promote the involvement of teachers and other staff in Alter. It is almost as though administrators and teachers collaborate unconsciously to maintain a view of themselves as adversaries. Because of the importance their respective ideas have to each of them, even integration can be threatening.

THE PROGNOSIS FOR Alter

Alter can become the source of further tension in Newton, or it can function, as intended, for greater integration. A crucial variable in deciding which will happen is the extent to which Alter, as a task system, can become congruent with the sentient system of the organization. As it is, groups which are defined as having common responsibility for certain tasks are split into conflicting sub-units or hampered by confusion over their boundaries. Where common responsibility crosses the lines of sentient identification, it becomes difficult for groups and individuals to assess each others points of view, motivations and interpretations of the situation. Past traumas, such as the "IRF' crisis, tend to increase members sense of dependence on sentient attachments. During the IRF crisis, the official, task-

oriented description of events failed to satisfy a large number of participants. Even where this did not promote feelings of distrust as such, it exacerbated feelings of distance. Thus each side views the other as though it operated according to a different set of rules; indeed each side evaluates the others actions by a different set of rules. This can only increase the sense of uncertainty in the organization. The result of such uncertainty is to shorten the time-span over which people plan, to make them more concerned to defend their immediate positions and less willing to see long-term benefits or goals. In psychoanalytic terms, the uncertainty of the environment produces regression to more and more generalized and thus crude responses.

Alter is indeed designed to do the opposite. Its aim is to facilitate more sophisticated long-term planning and to reduce the extent of generalized and crude reponses to situations. But its successful implementation depends on the ability of the organization's sentient system to sustain that level of sophisticated operation. As we suggested above, the predictability of an individual or an organization's environment is a crucial factor determining to engage in long-term action. Choosing to accept Alter must be a long-term action for teachers within the Kepler system. But the very situation of change which makes formal long-term planning and accounting systems important also makes it difficult to sustain the perspective required to judge them useful. The Kepler School System has found itself the object of rising expectations in recent years, and has struggled to meet them. But the rising expectations are not the neatly ordered product of either the environ-

ment or the members of the organization. Rather, they appear as a helter-skelter of half-articulated and often competitive or conflicting notions. One sector of the community is primarily concerned with academic excellence, another with accountability, another with discipline. Economic constraints limit the ability of the system to meet all demands, but do not limit the ability of the different relevant parts of the environment from presenting theirs (or at least not so much).

But the organization is not simply the captive of the environment. Its problems are produced not directly by the environment, but by the interaction between outside and inside. Inside the school system there are the split identities to which we have alluded. The different groups each identifying more with a different external group, each emphasizing a different focus on the organization's basic goals, or the means to reach them. One can explain this partly by reference to the limitation of resources, but only in the most general terms. In practice, resources must always be limited. The organization must always take decisions about their allocation to various tasks. The key issue is that this problem--which is perhaps a basic problem behind Alter--be seen as a problem of the organization and not just of certain parts or members.

This did not exist in Kepler before Project Alter and the implementation of Alter did not provide this important psychological resource. It did, however, provide a good set of technical and procedural facilities: CAMS and SAMS, data storage and retrieval. But uncertainty as to what use these facilities were to be put remained. Senior administrators were suspected of being unduly influenced by personal motives;

teachers were thought to be unreasonably resistant. No doubt much of this was the result of pre-existing strains rather than of Alter itself. Part of the problem is that the system had for a time been accustomed to making a basic assumption of dependence in relation to the fathering figure of the superintendent. The IRF crisis broke this assumption state for many, and the organization became characterized by that more intense anxiety which is always the reaction to a sudden loss of dependency. Suspicions between groups and a posture of alternate fight or flight seem now to prevail. If these suspicions can be allayed--and to some extent they already are--then Alter may yet prove able to perform its tasks without disturbing organizational sentience. This would involve both some change of teacher attitudes- and of administrative policy, however.

Teachers have been accustomed to the traditional autonomy of a one teacher/one class structure. Supervision has been more or less sporadic--indeed, where the tasks were very well defined, and the problems less complex, close supervision did not seem important. But this independence of individual teachers is breaking down, largely because of the radically increased (and increasing) costs of operating the educational system. Close attention to cost-effectiveness has been a major response to this situation. But one of its results has been to put teachers, departments, schools, and programs in the position of competing with each other for the allocation of scarce resources. Under current policy in Kepler, this is a sort of negative competition: resources are allocated to those programs which are deemed necessary

but which show low achievement. Program personnel are put in the odd position of attempting to show that their unit is worthwhile but also inadequate. Performance--as well as performance reporting--may well become sub-optimal under such a system. In any case each unit's uncertainty about its future funding is increased; each individual's anxiety about whether there will be resources to meet his expectations and maintain him in his role is exacerbated.

All of the problems we have mentioned are reflected in the organization's inability to distinguish threat from opportunity. But of course this inability is far from complete. The organization also has a number of assets which can be (and are) used to reduce uncertainty, maintain stability, and bring component groups closer together. One of the more important of these is the considerable concensus of members concerning the basic goals of the organization. Our research found that at all levels this goal was seen as the maximal preparation of children for life in a changing environment. It is amusing to note how much the necessary goal of the organization for itself is the same. The organization is highly energetic, and in general optimistic. This positive emotional attitude may provide strong support for future attempts to deal with organizational problems, as indeed may the high training and professionalism of the staff. But something must be done to catalize these potentially integrative factors. To this end we offer some suggestions for ways to reduce the negative unconscious collaboration of organization members and to increase the positive.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

1. PRIMARY TASK.

It is important that organization have a clear picture of the task which has brought it into existence, and for which it works. Often immediate tasks become defined as ends in themselves instead of as means to this further task. There is an underlying consensus in Kepler that the primary task of the educational system is to prepare children for life in a changing environment. Implementation of Project Alter did not present it in terms of this aim, however. Rather Alter was put forward as a way of achieving lesser intermediate aims such as administrative efficiency These intermediate aims are much more the concern of some parts of the organization than of others, and it is not surprising that the project as a whole should thus be identified mainly with their personal or sectional interests.

Through a focus on the primary task, an organization may come to see the problems which arise within it as problems of the whole. If all are concerned with the primary task, then all are concerned that the organization not be hampered by a failure to relate to its environment or of its parts to function properly or relate to each other. In a group, neurosis is to be seen as the problem of the group, not simply of the individual member who displays it at any one time. So it is when the group is a school system, and the member an academic department, a school, or a category of persons. Project Alter is a way of dealing with some of the technical problems which interfere with the school system's ability to accomplish its primary task. As such, it can be seen as useful to the

organization as a whole. But as long as some members persist in seeing the problems as their own property they will see the solution as theirs as well. Conversely, those who identify the problems as none of their concern will be likely to view with suspicion any inroads the solution makes on their territory. In sum, it is important that successes and failures not be treated as losses or gains of private property of members, but as the successes or failures of the organization as a whole in its attempt to achieve its primary task.

2. PRIMARY SENTIENCE.

In primary task an organization is essentially forward looking. It is conservative, on the other hand, in primary sentience. The chief characteristic of the emotional life of the organization is its attempt to maintain itself against regression or disintegration. Any change implies such disorganization. This does not mean that sentience is only a problem to be dealt with and minimized, however. The primary sentience of an organization is to maintain itself as an organization. This is an important source of loyalty and effort is the system. In Kepler, however, recent crises have accentuated the fissures in the organization. Instead of being clear about their membership in the whole, members emphasize their membership in one or another component -- the teaching staff or the administration, Paterson or Webster school. The rest of the organization was seen as competitive with this primary object of identification.

Means of increasing the identification of members with the organization as such are needed. In terms of Alter, this problem becomes mani-

fest as a result of the linking (and it doesn't matter whether in actuality or perception) of performance assessment to the evaluation of individuals or groups. Such a linkage implies that Alter is extraneous to the identity of the member of the organization, and indeed a threat. It would be useful if members of each sub-group were to analyze their identity in the organization as a whole, to consider what their distinctive contribution is, how they make it and why they are motivated to do so, and to ask themselves what they expect in return for their participation in the organization. From this they could move on to a consideration of other groups in the organization, with which ones they could identify, what they think other groups contribute to them and vice-versa.

The results of such considerations could be of use on two levels. First and foremost, they should help the members of groups analyze ways in which their unconscious attachments and behaviour help or hinder their performance in relation to the primary task of the organziation. Along this line they should also develop better understandings of the way in which the overall divsion of labour is related to that task. Secondly, such self-analyses could provide data for assessment of the particular and/or local conditions within which innovations must be worked out. Alter could be used to reflect not only an overall view of the organization, or one from the top down, but also one from each of the various perspectives through which sub-groups see the whole. This would pinpoint some of the problems in sentient integration which are chronic and have to do with the different tasks, compositions and environments of the different groups. Teachers, for example see students all the time, and fiscal accounts rarely. The reverse is true of business officials, purchasing agents and so

forth. The intermediate goals which are important to each are likely to appear as constraints to the others.

The sentient patterns of organization in Newton appear to conflict with the primary task (and thus with Alter which is a way of dealing with the task organization) because groups have been allowed to drift a long way apart. Each has been specialized and focused to deal with its specific and formally defined job -- intermediate -- and has lost some of the knack of keeping the overall task in mind. Or perhaps more accurately, each became less sure just what it could do about the overall task, since this integration appeared as someone else's responsibility. The level of abstraction of the accountability system -- even the use of computer technology-contributed to this. As the overall goal appeared more distant, the emotional reinforcement provided by the local group became all the more important, and the identification of the member was vested all the more in it. Thus when Alter appeared on the scene, it seemed to be threatening the one hold which was left on emotional identity in the organization.

Of course, Project Alter need not have done this, and it need not continue to do so. In many ways its problems of implementation are typical and not the result of unique factors or individuals in Newton, although these give it its particular shape and colour. The overemphasis on intemediate goals and on the formal tasks of the organization and its components is at the core of the difficulties in Kepler is accountability. project. Intermediate tasks can (and must) be split up and portioned out in a way which the primary task can never be. This latter must be the

task of everyone in the organization. What is needed is a continual re-examination to make sure that the primary task is still agreed upon as the relevant one, and that the intermediate tasks still seem to be filling it. The problem in Kepler does not seem to us to be a faulty division of educational labor, or a bad accountability system. It seems rather to be an inadequate structure of identities within the organization. Parts in some places are too strong vis-a-vis the whole. As we have suggested above, it is as though members of the system collaborate unconsciously to convince themselves that they don't agree about the primary task when indeed they do. If they were to recognize this, then agreement on means would be much easier to achieve.

I. GENETIC DATA

A. Identifying Information

The Kepler Public School System is located in northwest New Salem in a rural environment approximately ninety minutes by car from The Metrocity. The community considers itself rural in traditions. Although there are cosmopolitan influences (e.g. Kepler has its own Mercedes-Benz automobile dealership), the community still takes great pride in the simple, natural, and healthy nature of its environment.

According to data obtained from materials supplied by the Superintendent of the Kepler Public School System, industry in Kepler is restricted to a large retail trade and several small manufacturing concerns employing over one thousand workers. Estimated population in Kepler for 1975 is 9,917, a growth of over 50% since 1960 when the present superintendent of schools came to the community. Per capita disposable income in the community in 1972 was $3,068 and by household, $9,511. During the summer months Kepler population increases by 40% adding additional revenues to local industry. Unemployment in the community is approximately 8.8% as of June, 1972. Within the county (Dayton), less than 50% of the workers are unionized. The last labor dispute involving over one hundred workers was in 1965.

The public school system serves approximately 2,875 children from Kepler and the surrounding districts. The Webster Avenue School was built in 1965 and is the newer of the two elementary schools. It serves 550 children from kindergarten through sixth grade. Although the Paterson School is the older elementary facility, it has been renovated and currently accomodates 700 children from grades K through eight. The High School is a modern structure within walking distance of the other

educational sub-units and serves 1,525 students. The central office is located in downtown Newton; the building in which it is housed was apparently once a commercial structure.

The organization offers a variety of special programs for the children it serves. The Board of Education maintains an environmental education center in the Salisary River Gap Region designed to introduce children to ecological studies and to popularize careers in environmental vocations. In addition, the district provides wide vocational opportunities for youngsters in the High School to cooperate in industrial and distributive education. Special programs for the physically and mentally handicapped have received strong support from the community. Federal and state aid has financed programs under Title I, II, and III under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act and the National Defense Education Act. Other funding has made possible many programs, including the Child Study Team, Head Start, Cooperative Office of Education programs, data processing, and Horticultural and Natural Resource programs. Federal and state aid for the fiscal year 1974-1975 amounted to $404,329.

pays on the average $1,200 per pupil per year at the elementary level and $2,000 per high school student. State-wide, Kepler ranks in the thirtieth percentile in ability to pay for educational services, while ten per cent of their budget consists of state and federal support funds.

1. Situation of the Initial Contract

This study was initiated under a grant from the National Institute of Education for study of the implementation of accountability systems in education. The study seeks to develop a model that school systems can utilize in implementing accountability systems in school organizations. The project is fundamentally based upon the premise that when formal management systems, accountability in school organization context,

are introduced into schools, they tend to elicit resistance because they are designed and activated without adequate concern for the reaction of individual members of the organization.

Kepler was selected by the principal investigator as a research site upon the recommendation of state officials familiar with accountability experiments in the state. From a list of possible sites the investigator chose the district because it conformed to the specifications of the research design. This district, along with the other two sites chosen, presented the project staff with a research location accurately fulfilling the matrix design described in figure 1. As a district Kepler was small, rural, high socioeconomic status, and low in ethnic mix. Once the district was chosen by the principal investigator, the Superintendent was approached in the interest of inclusion in the study. By an introductory letter and several visits to the site by the principal investigator and senior staff members, the Superintendent and his administrative staff were introduced to the parameters, conceptual foundations, participating district roles, and proposed outcomes of the research effort. The project proposal was distributed to the Superintendent and staff, and site researchers were introduced in these initial contacts. The function of these contacts was to allow each group to question the other in order to ascertain the appropriateness of the site for the study and to allow the central office staff to request clarification of issues relevant to participation. It was made clear that our study was intended to benefit both current "knowledge of implementation experiences" and to provide the host district with a case study of its current functioning. Our intentions were clearly stated during these initial contacts and the interests and concerns of the district were noted with great care. The successive interviews between the two parties culminated

in an atmosphere of trust and mutual benefit. This important, fundamental step provided a research climate crucial to understanding the dynamics of the Kepler School System.

These negotiations were formalized in a letter to the Superintendent specifying the goals of the project, the research methodology, the anonymity of the district in the final report and case study, and the agreement to adopt research generated proposals for improving implementation of the existing management system. This latter agreement was to be the core of the research effort. The district would be asked to implement proposed changes in the design-implementation-dissemination structure already in effect. These proposals as implemented were to have been observed for possible effects upon the organization's adaptation to the accountability system, called Project Alter. Upon receipt of the letter the Superintendent was asked to present the project in toto to the Board of Education and to provide the principal investigator with a letter confirming the Board's approval. After this letter was received by the principal investigator Newton's participation in the study began.

2. Circumstances of the Study

The circumstances of the conduct of the study were agreed to by the Superintendent as outlined in the original research proposal. The project was to begin in September of 1975 and continue into May of 1976; overlapping two consecutive academic years. Research was to be conducted in the school district by the principal investigator and his surrogates, the principal field investigators. The same arrangement was made in the other two host districts. A principal field researcher was responsible for the maintenance of the research contract and the conduct of research activities in the district. Special attention was given to the unobtrusive presence of field

researchers in the school units. School visits were to be prearranged and the purpose of the visit was to be confirmed by the building administrative personnel. Field researchers were instructed to remain the guests of the district and conduct research in accordance with day-to-day constraints of school operation. Anonymity of individuals contacted in the course of research was strictly adhered to. Access to central files was agreed to by the district central office with the constraint that personnel records would be used only to generate information necessary to understand the history and ongoing practices of the personnel office. No files were to be examined outside of the confines of the central office and anonymity of records was strictly enforced. No school unit records were necessary. In addition, it was agreed that information volunteered by the organization was to be used only by research staff at the project center and no information was to be fed back to organization members until the final report. These conditions were respected at all times by the research staff, they were crucial in the generation of authentic and useful data.

Four research instruments were to be utilized in the school district. First a general questionnaire was distributed to the Superintendent for the purpose of generating the identifying data contained in part I of the case study analysis. The questionnaire, appendix 1, was divided into seven individual parts and was to be completed by the individual in the central office most familiar with the content of the question. Existing materials were suggested as possible sources of questionnaire interests while some questions required a brief written response. From this initial data gathering effort, research staff members gained familiarity with procedural practices in the district and with the historical development of the district. It was felt that extensive familiarization with the fundamental organizational characteristics of the district was essential prior to formal visitations.

The second instrument utilized in the district was an individual questionnaire to be administered to school district personnel. Because of the size of the district, it was felt that the complete population of the district might be included in the administration of the questionnaire. The instrument itself was adapted from a questionnaire utilized by Harry Levinson in Organizational Diagnosis (Harvard University Press, 1972). Adaptation of the questionnaire for school organization use was completed by the field research staff under the direction of a senior staff member. The questionnaire was piloted with a group of administrators and teachers at Teachers College, Columbia University, and recommendations for changes were noted and applied.

Prior to the administration of the questionnaire, the field researcher assigned to Kepler and a second staff member introduced the project in each of the three school units. A brief summary of the project was distributed to school personnel on the day of the meeting to familiarize the school units with the purpose of the project, its proposed methodology, outcomes, and the implications for participating districts. These meetings were held with mixed response from school unit personnel. The concern of the district membership suggested the need for strict anonymity in the identification of individual questionnaires. The presentation of the project met with initial resistance and skepticism from the school personnel. These developments and outcomes will be examined more carefully in succeeding portions of this report.

Additional resistance occurred at the initial administration of the questionnaire at Webster and Paters where teachers felt coerced into answering the questionnaire, were concerned with the identifying information on the first page, and were alienated by the terminology of the questionnaire. It should be noted at this point, however, that resistance grew to such proportions that the teachers in the

High School refused to participate in the project until a more acceptable representation of the intention and use of data be made. The source of much debate was the vague and perceptibly threatening presentation of the project by field researchers. The central topic that emerged was the proposed use of the completed questionnaires. This issue was resolved only after extensive negotiation with the Teachers' Association that is described in the next section.

A third data collection instrument used in Kepler and the other districts was the individual interview conducted with an equally proportional sample of administrators and teachers in the school units and the central office. The sample was randomly generated from a population stratified by sex, ethnic composition, tenure, and level of professional training. The total number of interviews in the district was 28 representing 23.5% of the district's professional staff. Additional interviews were conducted with members of the community adding an external dimension to the data content. The interviews were conducted in June with the majority of the sample by the principal field researcher, an additional staff member, and two advanced graduate students in social psychology and educational administration. Other interviews were conducted on successive days with individuals unable to participate on the previous day. Interviews with central office staff and Teachers' Association representatives were conducted by a senior staff member.

The interview format was largely unstructured but guided by an introductory questionnaire lending consistency to the interviewing effort. The interviews lasted from thirty minutes to one hour depending on the availability of the interviewee. These interviews were conducted in a voluntary manner and with complete anonymity. The content of the interview stressed experiences of the interviewee upon entering the system, role experience, information system, dynamic system

properties, the future of the district, and the ongoing accountability system. These questions are more specifically outlined in Appendix 3.

The final instrument utilized by the project staff was the individual diary of the field researcher. Observations and comments concerning events that transpired during the visit were recorded after every contact with the host system. The diaries included initial impressions and served as an ongoing record of the field researcher's experience in the organization. Careful notes were to be made of developing affiliations with district-wide systems and individual workers, thus supplying the field researcher with a constant dialogue between observation and inference. Constant reassessment of diary entries, observations, and conclusions produced a vital link between researcher bias and the nature and content of observations. A preliminary conceptual framework, complementary to the original research thesis, sustained or refuted by the addition of data from other research instruments, became the product of this exercise.

Data generated from these four sources was later graphed and related to the case study method of Organizational Diagnosis and became, as a final product, a case study of the Kepler School District.

3. Special Conditions Affecting the Validity of The Study

Underlying the use of four uniquely independent data gathering instruments was the desire to apply continual data to the nascent conceptual framework and to preliminary observations made by the project staff. Hard pre-existing data, individual questionnaires and interviews, and the diary format provided a layered data base. By using this data base, consistent and repetitive inferences could appear, while spurious, inconsistent, or unsubstantiated observations could be subjected to reevaluation. To insure consistent validity in data content, instruments were made

flexible to revision and amendment. As noted earlier, the individual questionnaire received the most extreme revision in response to initial resistance from the professional staff.

Originally, the individual questionnaire was intended to be used as a guide to generating salient and meaningful question content in the later evolving interviews. While the importance of the individual questionnaire was minimized in the presentation of the project to the professional staff, the instrument was seen by this group as a direct information source for central office staff. As mentioned earlier, concerns were raised about the use of the questionnaire responses, and more importantly, about the validity of responses in light of the ambiguous language inherent in the questionnaire. Thus, while questioning the future use of the information gathered, the teachers were deeply concerned that the instrument yield an accurate perspective of their sentiments. These concerns were manifested in the eventual failure of the administration of the questionnaire in the Paters and Webster Schools and the complete refusal of the High School faculty to participate.

This resistance was vocalized by the Teachers' Association and was transmitted to the project staff by a letter from the Association requesting a detailed statement of project goals, research methodology, and access to data by parties other than the project staff. As a consequence of this letter, the project was temporarily halted and the principal investigator engaged in numerous negotiations with the Teachers' Association Executive Committee. Teacher participation was guaranteed by the Association after the principal investigator and field researcher guaranteed the absolute privacy of the questionnaire responses, the revision of questionnaire terminology (supervision, work unit and others), and public access to the final report through presentation at an open and scheduled school board meeting. These requests were agreed to in writing by the principal investigator.

The response of the Superintendent to the negotiation process was positive, although he did suggest caution in our maintaining mutuality in light of current contract negotiations in the district. At least temporarily the study came to be viewed as the political pawn of two competing sides in contract negotiations. It was evident that an attempt was being made by both sides to view the study as a surreptitious instrument of the administration and as a martyr of teacher strife. Repeated statements of project neutrality and research integrity eventually satisfied both groups. This brief episode emerged as the only threat to the validity of the research activity from overt manipulation. Project staff in the district were constantly aware of their intermediary role in the district and noted such transference during the course of data gathering and analysis. Impressions of these events are noted in greater detail in succeeding sections of this report.

These events occurred early in the Kepler research. They become more relevant by specifying the conditions under which the study was initiated. The project, as noted earlier, was legitimized with the consent of the Superintendent and the Board of Education. The Kepler Teachers' Association was not approached for approval by either the project staff or the Superintendent. As previously discussed events have indicated, the Teachers' Association was affronted by the inadequate concern shown for their interests by both the project staff and the central office. At first field researchers were unfamiliar with historical relationships between teachers and administrators other than central office; however, the staff soon realized the proportions of the distance and the intensity of the dissonance emerging between the two groups. With their prevailing observations firmly attached to the research experience, staff members contemplated the intentions of the district management in engaging the study. After numerous contacts with the Superintendent, an obvious variance emerged between the stated interest of the Superintendent and that revealed by field research.

An excerpt from a field research diary points to first impressions:

> Wilms was not what I had expected; he is very interested, cordial and a pal of probably all in the district. My first impression of his staff were that they were good people. honest, interested in their schools, and carefully picked by Wilms for their style and manner. They all seemed to be similar in the way they joked, and followed the leader . I think Wilms rules with an iron hand but it is tempered, it seems, by a jovial boy scout leader or coach routine. Wilms is very confident about his system of management. He has a computer and an accounting based accountability system with measurable cognitive objectives.
>
> The reason why he wants us there is yet unclear. Either he wants us to pat him on the back for a good job because he sees problems developing in the future that no one else sees (perhaps this is because of his perspective), and he wants us to forecast his predictions and supply proposals for the future; or, as he mentioned, he wants to know why there is an accountability system in Kepler. It is a small rural district where issues like these are not brought up since there are few cries over the inequity of education between races, etc. Wilms wanted us to see the system as very tight, friendly, and family-like--perhaps a very paternal system. He was willing to give us any information that did not require names. There was little fuss over the confidentiality issue. Most wanted to know how soon we would start. They are very anxious to look at themselves and see what is going on. There was no mention made of union involvement and the Board was presented as docile . He was very confident of his grasp of the system since he was open-armed about out entry. He asked us about ourselves and our interests, placing us on an even keel with his group.

Initial impressions of central office expectations made the project staff acutely aware of the biases inherent in management functions. The orientation of the central office was clearly cosmopolitan, while at the grass roots level field researchers soon acknowledged that an entirely different set of needs and concerns prevailed. As recorded by a field researcher, the interests of the faculty became evident during the presentation of the project at the High School:

> After a quick run around the school looking at some of the classrooms and students, I returned to the principal's office. I chatted with him for about ten minutes before the meeting. Much of the conversation was very light and did not deal with the research project and my visit, although I did ask him if there had been any response to the personal research statement we had sent down. He said, 'No, because it had been distributed only that morning; however this is a very difficult time at the High School because they are losing 450 students from sender districts.' Apparently they are also losing a certain number of faculty and therefore faculty morale is very low.

Specific concerns of the teachers at this initial point were:

> How was Kepler chosen and why? I explained that N.I.E. required us to have a broad school district sample, broad enough so that the implications and generalizations we make from our study will, of course, be generalizable to a wide variety of school districts across the country. There were a number of questions that dealt with this. They wanted to know why Kepler was chosen. I said, 'Well Kepler did have an accountability system and others did not. It was rural as opposed to urban and because of the community's ethnic composition and socioeconomic status.' I did not mention that Wilms thought their accountability system was a success.
>
> The issue of anonymity came up only in terms of using name, using the school district's name. No one questioned using the teachers' names although I suggested that they would remain anonymous. The issue of personnel files never came up. Other issues included the kinds of questions which were going to be asked. I answered by saying that although we had not yet developed the complete questionnaire, a type of question we might ask could concern the degree of centralized policy-making in the school district, for example.
>
> One person asked how the project would help them as teachers. I indicated that was difficult to say because each individual will interpret the final results in his own way but I suggested that the project would present the Kepler School System as a system, a functioning entity that is dynamic and will change to adapt to new environments, and that we are interested in this process of change--how Kepler reacted to accountability as a change, as a new way of managing the school system. Perhaps the research project will uncover a great many relationships, a great many characteristics of the school system that perhaps had not been that apparent to the members.
>
> Some of the other questions were general and lasted perhaps ten minutes after the presentation. No one was particularly upset by the fact that the project was coming in. There were a couple of people who seemed knowledgeable about research projects. They asked, 'Why Newton? Why not someone else?' Generally the meeting went well.

At the end of the presentation:

> A few people came up to talk. The first fellow had been very much in the forefront of the faculty meeting and he asked, 'Why didn't you come to us earlier with this and who did you talk to recently? How did you happen to get where you are now?' I responded, 'Of course, our first contact was with Dr. Wilms. He is the outside representative of the school system to the community and it was only natural for us to approach him with this idea.'

This fellow had asked whether we were working through the State Board of Education, and I said we had no relationship with them. He again asked, 'Why hadn't we come to them first? Why weren't the teachers given the option of voting 'yes' or 'no' on this research project?' 'We felt it would be normal or appropriate procedure to go to Dr. Wilms and that we would allow him to proceed in the manner he saw best in introducing the research project to the community.'

Obviously the teachers had not known about the project until that morning when they received the notice in their mailboxes that I had written. This struck me as something for us to note. The teachers did not know about it. I began to notice a great deal of distance between Wilms and the relationship he has with his top staff, the principals, Sonnovy, and the other top guys up there. They are a club; they are informal, jovial, and virtually a subsystem of the school system. I doubt seriously if we are really seeing them, is there really very much of the kind of high integration that Wilms had suggested exists in this school system, especially in the High School.

A similar diary entry by the same field researcher noted that:

Another man came up and said, 'You know if you really want to find out what's going on in this school, you ought to come down to our Friday afternoon bowling league at the Elks Club.' Of course bowling is a euphemism for drinking, it's their Friday afternoon drinking club and I was flattered to hear that, just after my brief introduction to the faculty. I suggested that I would enjoy joining them and thanked him for the invitation. Whether or not he was serious I don't know, but at least he was perhaps testing me to see how close I wanted to get. I told him I was willing to participate in any kind of activity that would help me to understand the school system better.

This initial presentation closed with a diary note observing the developing of conditions masking tension with optimism:

At that point I thanked the principal and told him that we were now ready to begin our formal data gathering activities and that we appreciated his giving us the opportunity to do so. He is a very receptive guy and I think he knows pretty much what is going on in the school. I think he's well respected but he's a little apprehensive about some current problems in the school, especially the loss of the students and faculty. He told me, 'I'm just trying to keep this place going right now.' That's about all he can do. This is probably the first time that this High School has been hit with a crisis like this, of this proportion. My preliminary observations are that the school is doing quite well considering that they may lose up to eleven of their faculty. I stayed after the

meeting just to be there and to answer any questions people might have. Two people came up. There were many smiles. I chatted with a lady on the way out--of course we talked about the weather.

At the Paters School undercurrents of discontent became more apparent with the administration of the questionnaire on May 1, 1975. A field researcher commented:

> I decided to hand the questionnaires out to teachers as they arrived and answer questions as they arose. Most teachers went right to work on them, but there was a general atmosphere of irritation and exasperation which seemed not so much to be provoked by the questionnaire itself, but to be the reflection of an underlying rebellious mood among the teachers.
>
> There were four complaints specific to the questionnaires that were voiced by more than one teacher:
>
> 1. There was difficulty grasping what 'work unit' referred to, one teacher said, 'The only person I identify with is me. I have to figure out how all these questions apply to me.' This statement of identifying only with himself was a good metaphor for the alienated mood apparent among the teachers.
>
> 2. The personal items of the face sheet raised intense concern over confidentiality. Several teachers said, 'But if we answer all these questions it will be possible to put them all together and figure out who we are.' The principal suggested tearing off the face sheet if it had already been filled out if one was concerned about being identified, and completing the rest of the questionnaire by copying the coding onto the second page. Still it almost verged on paranoia for teachers to think anyone would go to the trouble of matching up all those items in order to ferret out the identity of individuals. This is probably an important index of the level of mutual distrust which has developed between teachers and administration here.
>
> 3. People had trouble with the term 'supervisor' and found it difficult to apply the term to their own situations. One teacher asked, 'Was this questionnaire designed for use in industry?' Another teacher commented that there was a discrepancy between the individual who was nominally her supervisor and the individual she actually got supervision from.
>
> 4. There was also considerable reaction to the bulk of the form, groans and other such noises indicating a sense of being overwhelmed by the sheer size of the questionnaire.
>
> There was also a group of four male teachers who refused to fill out the questionnaire at all and left. I had a brief discussion with them in which I attempted to respond to their questions but I very

quickly received the impression that they had made so strong and negative an identification of the project with Wilms' administration that it was going to be impossible for me to allay their suspicions at that moment. One of these teachers asked, 'What guarantee do we have that our responses to this questionnaire will not be seen by the administration?' He added that he didn't include the principal of the school in this concern here, he didn't have any objection to the principal seeing his responses. The project staff member told him, 'The responses to this questionnaire will only be seen by members of the research project.' The teacher said, 'I'm afraid your word on that is not sufficient.' Another teacher commented, 'You just picked a bad time to get involved with this school district.' The staff member said, 'This questionnaire is intended to provide an opportunity for you to express your feelings about what's happening here.' The teacher then responded, 'We've already had channels for communication of our feelings to the administration. We don't need you for that.' The principal commented afterwards that these four individuals represented an active faction among the teachers at Paters and he could have predicted their resistance to the project.

The other teachers completed the questionnaire except for one male teacher who was only halfway through by 3:30, when I had to leave. This was the individual who had previously said he only identified with himself as a work unit and he now indicated that it was going to take him a long time to complete the questionnaire because he was going to have to keep on figuring out how each question applied to him individually. This came across rather as a passive/aggressive maneuver that would be useless to confront directly, so I thanked him for taking the trouble to answer the questions so carefully and told him he could complete the questionnaire at his own pace and Steihler would provide him with an envelope to return it to us anonymously.

The Paters incident introduced the Kepler Teachers' Association into the situation. The field staff observed that perhaps hidden agenda explained the willingness of the district administration to participate in the study:

We have recently received a letter from the president of the Kepler Teachers' Association requesting a statement of the goals, objectives, and uses of the research project. I think this letter was actually inspired by a developing lack of trust between the K.T.A. and the central office. It seems that a series of arbitrary, if not illogical, decisions have come from the central offices recently. Howard, the president of the K.T.A., gave me an example of such arbitrary practice by relating something involving him. It seems that he has been teaching a special remedial reading program in the High School for the last four years, but he has recently been told by the central office that he can no longer do so as he is not certified to teach this program. His replacement is also not certified to teach remedial reading, so he has concluded that this

is just another example of poor administration.

I had contacted the President of the K.T.A. in response to the N.I.E. suggestion that we include interested parties in the development of the research methodology. Although I don't agree with this tactic, I do feel that the project will go easier if, in fact, we have the support fo the local teachers' union. We approached Hughen just to let him know what we were doing. At first he did not seem to object, but he asked whether or not the Board had sanctioned the project. We said we had a letter from Wilms giving consent but Howard didn't seem to think that the Board understood the project the way he did. Thus, I began to think that perhaps Wilms had said different things to different audiences in presenting the project. Howard understood the project to be administrative accountability. It was presented to the Board as a management study and Sonovy thought we were going to evaluate the Project Alter which could then be supportive of Keplen's attempt for state validation.

Howard said that the Board has all but forgotten the project. This tends to support the recent newspaper ads taken out by the K.T.A. which questioned the Board's response to educational issues. Howard was generally concerned with the use of our results. The teachers are afraid that the questionnaires would get back to the central office and in this atmosphere of distrust they are quite wary of covert attempts by the central office to control them. Much covert activity occurs in Kepler. For example, Project Alter is I think a scheduling tool based upon a software package and founded on student achievement. But it is also a budgeting system whereby programs are funded according to whether or not the objectives are achieved. The teachers have no idea that this is an accountability or formal management system. Thus there appears to be a variety of agenda at different points in the organization. This can be clearly seen in terms of the differing perceptions of the project held by Sonovy, Wilms, and the teachers.

In consequent discussions with the KeplerTeachers' Association, it became apparent that the study had been perceived with yet another function:

Two teachers complained that they had been forced to answer the questionnaire by the principal and that their contract did not provide for such after school activities. The matter went to the K.T.A. president, who had also received pressure from the New Salem Educational Association about the project. [illegible] said that the project was stopped until there were some answers about its intentions; apparently these have been questioned in light of recent events occurring in the superintendent's office. The Superintendent has just sanctioned a State of New Salem evaluation of the teachers and many teachers have associated our project with this effort. There is much interest in whether our project actually represents what we have stressed. They are afraid that information they give us will get back to the central office and be used in some kind of evaluation.

> Howard is placed in the middle. The teachers who had at first refused to answer the questionnaire said that mere okay by Howard does not mean that they have given their consent and that the teachers have to vote on it. Howard is also getting pressure from the NSIC to halt the project. A woman from NSIC met with him yesterday and was to call the project's principal investigator, although as of May 7, 1975 that had not occurred. Much of the problem stems from the layoff of the teachers. At first twenty-two (were laid off) but now that has been reduced to about eleven who will be terminated. It is not known by us the process by which they were decided upon.

These lengthly excerpts were intended to illustrate initial impressions of the conditions that existed within the district when the project began. To a great extent the study inherited, if not became, the object of transference of historical management/labor dissonance. The cumulative effect of these diary entries was an awareness that within organization subsystems, even between members of subsystems, conflicting views existed of the circumstances under which the study was to be conducted. The early warning signs of resistance and hostility to the project, although partly a function of our own errors, were manifested in the variance of perceived functions the research was to perform. These initial impressions and observations provided the research staff with a focus on organizational circumstances early in our contact with the district.

4. First Overall Impressions

Relationships between the organization and field research staff began with an optimistic and encouraging set of contacts between the Superintendent and the principal investigator and with a research contract suggesting mutual benefit. After a brief interval while project staff negotiated with the remaining districts, the field researcher made his first formal visit to the district. The invitation was for a meeting of administrative personnel over lunch and the promise of a roast beef

sandwich made the day even more exciting. Because of complications with project transportation, this visit was cancelled, as had been two other appointments. It was then that relationships with the district became tense. In calling the Superintendent to cancel the meeting, the principal field researcher, E.J. sensed skepticism at the research site and became aware of his own personal reactions:

> The Superintendent's reaction to my call was mixed. He commented that it would be an uphill relationship after I indicated my disappointment at not being able to come. His implication was that the twice occurring cancellations had begun our relationship in a negative way. He did describe an anecdote of a similar experience of transportation troubles. His manner was light, unreassuring and somewhat arrogant. I don't think he really sympathized.
>
> I have questions about my credibility in that school district. I feel I'm seen as the university researcher who can manipulate time without concern for the client involved. My feeling at this point is that I will be on the defensive now, having to substantiate openly my sincere interest and commitment to the school. This will no doubt affect my interviewing, although my anger and embarassment is perhaps reflected here. My feeling is that this experience will affect the quality of the information gathered from those who know of this day's proceedings. I know that right now I feel uncomfortable about going into the school system.

These concerns subsided during the following week and when the initial visit finally materialized, E.J. commented:

> I was a little concerned about going to Kepler as I have had problems with the Superintendent in breaking appointments. Once I got into the school system, however, all my fears were quelled, and I really forgot the problems that I had anticipated. Kepler is a self-contained community. It lies an hour from the Metrocity and is subject to metropolitan influence, while the town itself maintains the tempo characteristic of suburban life. The community supports two foreign car dealerships and welcomes the visitor in billboard style with, 'Kepler, New Salem Where Civic Pride Means Community Progress.' The town is quiet, impeccably manicured, and consistent with the image of rural independence. The school system also displays these qualities. The innovative reputation of the system, communicated by state leaders, appeared immediately as I noticed the ubiquitous tapping of data processing equipment on my way to meet the Superintendent and his staff. The office was decorated with appropriate cartoons and mail order

plaques displaying rhymes identifying the Superintendent as having a sense of humor, and creating an atmosphere of informality and reassurance for the incoming visitor.

The Webster Avenue School is the showplace of the district. Built in 1965 in response to population growth, the school looked as clean and new as the first day it opened. The halls were immaculate and covered with a variety of student achievements. The field researcher, O.J. was met by Mrs. Amesnon , a master teacher and assistant to the principal. She immediately personified the charm and overall climate of the school. After suggesting to Jones that she saw herself as a liason between teacher and administrator, Mrs. Amesnon escorted O.J. on a non-stop tour of Webster's excellence. She reminded him, as they visited the impressive Learning Disabilities Center, that Webster was the envy of the other elementary school. "We have no problems here," she recounted, "our facilities are excellent, our classes small, our teachers young and enthusiastic, and our principal a sharp leader." She said that there was discontent at Halsted because they have few of the facilities Webster enjoys, while being overcrowded as well.

Her description seemed accurate; the atmosphere provided for a unique learning climate. However, the Webster "experience" had resulted in some tension among the staff. O.J. recalls his first observations of a faculty meeting:

> At Webster Avenue they have tried the IGE/MUS (Individually Guided Education/Multi-Unit School) system and have broken the teachers down into instructional units to reduce the independence and isolation of teaching duties, while probably developing work flow and the understanding of dependencies in goal achievement. I am projecting these things, but one residue from this system is the formation of interest groups in the school around the instructional units. The social studies unit was unhappy because they were not being adequately represented in the larger policy committee. The democratic ethic of having individual teacher input was very important to many people. The issues of planning in the school through the instructional council was apparent. People in these units found it hard to plan when they had to deal with competing

groups in the allocation of school time to plan projects and activities for their students. There were some near arguments about people who failed to plan their activities far enough in advance and then forced others to make concessions so that these activities could actually occur.

The principal has attempted to use the faculty meetings as forums for interaction and discussion in trying to settle these problems. The conversation quickly ranged from aggravated to jovial. This suggests that although the people at the school were very close and friendly, these relationships had developed because they didn't have to deal with each other too much in the accomplishment of their individual goals and that they didn't have to compete consciously for time or resources. It was clear that there are frustrations and hostility between teachers, although these are still largely tempered by the friendly relationships held in the past among themselves and the principal. The teachers generally commented that the principal should be the person to make the decisions in the school as a sort of mediator. I'm not really sure where this new collaborative model is going. My impression is that the principal is not really committed to the idea when he knows that final decisions are his responsibility.

My point here is that the IGE/MUS idea, as developed into instructional units competing for available school resources, has caused the creation of various interest groups. These groups are cooperating within themselves but finding the old friendly atmosphere of the school threatened by the new roles people are being placed in. This is actually a newly imposed organizational structure; individuals who are very independent and largely isolated competing for resources with structured interest groups. Time and priority are largely at issue now, but I imagine that if the instructional units are given authority to determine their program budgets, the competition will then be extended to money.

Tremors were more evident at the High School where an external organizational shock elicited disharmony:

The loss of twenty-two teaching positions because of unforthcoming state aid was mentioned as a potentially tough problem. The psychological well-being of the school system was seen as disrupted. It was intimated that this might make our findings appear differently from the normal day-to-day functioning of this happy little family. It was clear that Wilms did not want the current upset in the system to be attributed to him. He wanted us to know that it wasn't his fault although he is taking the blame for it in the school system. He said that the teachers don't have a wide enough outlook to see that the declining birthrate and economic conditions were responsible. It was their lack of sophistication and intellectual capacity that laid the blame on him. He attempted to elicit from his staff that it was not his fault. His staff said, or at least agreed with the Superintendent that the teachers blamed him . . . It will be interesting to see if the same confidence and openness exists within the teaching ranks as that present within Wilms private army.

Here the Superintendent comments on the same issue:

> I don't know what kind of person you are but I'm a person who pays a lot of attention to details. I like to sit out on my back lawn in the afternoon and watch a rainstorm, and watch how the rain makes a pool, collecting little drops until the pool fills up and begins to drain off. That's a good analogy for what happened here. I should have used that analogy with the Board. The pool had to drain off sometime. If it didn't happen this year, it would have happened next year . . . So the Board and I had to decide, 'Was this the issue; the reduction in force?' And we decided that it was. The Board had to show that it would stand firm on fiscal issues. It wouldn't support twenty-one positions that we couldn't afford and don't need. I made it clear that I wasn't willing to back up one step on this issue. And so the Board is standing firm. You know, I never touched my son until one day he swore at my wife, his mother, and I popped him. He had gone too far that time. It's like that with the Board.
>
> But to tell the truth, if I could go back to December, 1974 and do it over again, I could have removed the barb from the reduction in force by handling the teachers differently. I tried to explain to the teachers rationally what had to be done and why it had to be done. That was the totally wrong move. I should have met with them in small groups. I should have said, 'Listen, this terrible thing has happened and it's breaking my heart.' I should have gone to each one of the teachers affected by the IRF and said it was breaking my heart but there was nothing I could do about it.
>
> Instead I was the great father. Maybe this comes out of my own history. I grew up in a poor family. Not poor intellectually, it was an intellectually rich family; but my old man wasn't good at making money. So I grew up with the attitude, 'I don't need anyone to take care of me, I can take care of myself.' But the problem is I expect other people to have this same attitude. I expect the teachers to be the same way, to be very strong.
>
> In the past fifteen years I have never failed to support every teacher, it was 'Daddy Wilms will take care of you.' This time I said, 'You're on your own.' It was a big mistake. So a large part of the blame for this thing falls right back on me.
>
> So we have a real problem in the High School. The kids there are happy; they know how lucky they are. But the teachers have lost faith in the administration and the community is upset. But like most procrastinators, which I am, I like to see things solved quietly without anyone seeing under the surface of the pool. I don't want anyone standing above the pond to see what is going on, to see the two bass fighting. So I'd been working on Jo Smooken's situation for six months, but I was forced to make my plans public two to three months before I had intended to.

In addition to the three school units and the central office, first impressions of the Teachers' Association leadership by Bob Fatun complete an introduction of the key subsystem units and complements the impressions expressed earlier about

the Superintendent and his central staff:

The media to which the Teachers' Association people have gone in their public campaign at contract time this year are generally against the teachers. The K.T.A. people said that they have had a hard time getting cooperation from the newspaper;when they take out an advertisement people are misquoted and most of the information given to the paper is subsequently edited. Another thing I remembered about this current campaign is one of the grievances that the teachers have. Every Tuesday or Thursday (I'm not sure which day) all the school administrators have a luncheon meeting together. This, of course, leaves all the schools without an administrator. The teachers feel this is a bad practice, as there is no one around to make an important or crisis decision. The teachers haven't suggested that one of them be put on duty in each school to cover for the administrators, but instead they want the administrators to carry out their responsibilities. This same attitude of separating teacher and administrative responsibilities was echoed at the Webster Avenue School when the teachers insisted that the important decisions by made by the principal and that the collaborative model of decision-making that the principal was trying to institute had its limitations. The situation of the luncheon meetings has not been changed so they meet in the afternoons. The teachers don't seem to want to assume or share in the administrative responsibilities--they are concerned with issues that directly affect the welfare and education of the children and their work with them. The link between management decisions and task functions is not clearly defined.

The Teachers' Association wants things to be restored to the way they were before these conflicts, when relationships between the teachers and administration were much better. They commented about the first 'P' being left out of PPBS (Planning, Programming and Budgeting Systems) by Sonnovy, as if to say that no planning had been done concerning the Project Alter. These teachers seemed aware that Alter was an accountability system and that we were here to help with the third phase of it in some way. As we stated in the brief summary of Project Alter it was intended to do two things:

1. Individualize instruction.
2. Continue the planning process as an ongoing or cyclical activity.

The K.T.A. people really don't see this later phase occurring. The summary of Alter goes on to say that the planning process works in Kepler because all school personnel share in the administrative process. Two questions come to mind: Do the teachers actually want to take an active part in the broader planning process? And do the teachers want some boundaries on administration? This is apparent in light of the events of collaborative administration at Webster Avenue and the K.T.A. gripes concerning the administrative luncheons. The teachers commented that the system is very 'top-down', with little

evidence that the teachers really have a centralized system of administration. This is paradoxically opposed to the collaborative model of functioning.

This part of the case study analysis described in detail the environmental conditions and circumstances existing in Kepler and the effect of these elements on the conduct of the research. The suggestion here is that the study became immersed in an organizational environment overtly appearing to be in equilibrium but covertly evincing organizational problems independent of the project's primary interest: the accountability system. These problems as stated by key district figures and generalized by project staff members appear in the next section of this study.

B. Historical Data

1. The Primary Purpose for Initiating the Study

The primary purpose for initiating the research study, as stated by the Superintendent, was his interest in better understanding the factors contributing to the development of accountability in Kepler, a small rural district where educational issues of such magnitude rarely surfaced. Concurrently the attraction of a university generated, large-scale research study on the ongoing functioning of the organization, and in particular, its accountability system, provided an opportunity for the Superintendent to gain favorable attention within the state. This must be considered in light of recent state interest in a generalizable model for accountability conforming to the state mandated thorough and efficient education policy. It was hoped by the Superintendent that the outcomes and conclusions of the research study might favorably reflect on Kepler's innovative effort and

thus influence state notice.

2. Problems of the Organization as Stated by Key Figures

In the course of conducting the interviews with key members of the administrative staff and individuals in the community, the project staff was introduced to a number of concerns and problems of the organization. In initial contacts made with the leadership of the organization, observations suggested that the accountability experiment in Kepler had proved successful and that we were to account for this anomaly. Weighted by this original bias, while conducting interviews with key figures in the organization, the project staff became aware of the existence of problem areas seemingly independent of and predating the implementation of Project Alter. These problem areas include:

1. Those that pre-date Project Alter
2. Those that developed during the implementation and were said to be related.

Following this summary is a brief section recalling the comments of key figures regarding the problems summarized and a statement suggesting the general, long-range problems uncovered by the project staff.

Problems of the organization were identified by their source, location, repetition, and historical scope as elicited during the individual interviews. Classified as problems predating the implementation of Project Alter were: (1) problems indigenous to school units, including the misuse and neglect of the physical plant of the High School, the lack of discipline and of an emotional climate supporting academic achievement, overcrowding, comparatively substandard facilities and discrimination in budgeting at Halsted, staff resistance and non-adaptation to structural changes in the traditional classroom, and a widening psychological gap between teacher and administrator at the Webster Avenue School; (2) threats from the outside environment

including the N.S.I.C. influence on the Teachers' Association and the shrinking student population; (3) detrimental effects of the negotiation process resulting in increased conflict between teachers, administrators, and community; (4) an atmosphere of distrust and suspicion resulting from arbitrary actions by the central office, radical actions by the teachers, and inconsistent actions by the community; and (5) the Board of Education in transition from dependence to independence in its relationship to the Superintendent.

Classified as problems related to the implementation of Project Alter were: (1) suspicion that the motive behind the accountability system was self-interest; (2) concern that the project was implemented too quickly; thus few participants, including central staff members, understood its implications or consequences; (3) concern that because the system requires working with added procedural and documentary tasks, and utilizes data processing equipment, it is not only more time consuming, but also reduces the human element in the educational process; (4) concern that there are hidden agenda behind the overt purposes of the project, especially concerning staff assessment; (5) concern that the potentially disruptive consequences of new practices and procedures may alienate building administrators in the defense of their systems; (6) concern that the operation of Project Cycle may induce role change, adding unwanted responsibilities to teachers while reducing the allocative and managerial role of building administration; and (7) concern that the emerging attitude displayed by the central office that Alter will succeed by the use of force rather than reason. These then are the problems suggested by key figures in the school district in the course of the individual interviews. The dimensions of these concerns are more accurately and appropriately displayed in context in the following brief section, containing excerpts from interviews conducted during the course of research in the organization.

One school building administrator, commenting on the High School, said that the school suffered from a poor public image. Much had to do with the physical building itself which generated much debate about the soundness of construction and its high cost. The structure was approved without the consent of community members residing in neighboring, sender districts. This same individual commented that the curriculum of the High School favored the college-bound student while historically only one-third of the students actually continued on to college. In addition to a high drop out rate, the climate of the High School had remained unresponsive to new social circumstances supporting student voice in the decision-making policy.

A community member described the High School as a center of disorder: 'The auditorium was beautiful, all plush, velvet seats. Now you can sit in about one-third of those seats, half of the lockers don't work . . . We've had a lot of bomb scares at the High School, the police and fire departments went through, cut all the locks and all they found was grass and booze. The Superintendent called to tell them the next time just not to go into the lockers. The fire chief said, 'Are you willing to sacrifice the school for $2.50 lockers?' And the Superintendent siad, 'That's what I'm trying to tell you.' This was a sore point. The heating system in the High School doesn't work. It's a beautiful school but it's been a disaster from the day it was built. It needs many corrections, but those weren't emergencies. You feel like you're running against a brick wall. Nothing happens. It's been going downhill. Discipline is a dirty work. The High School has a smoking lounge but what do they need it for? They smoke anywhere. When the principal and his assistant started out as a team they were good and strict . . . That's why I feel the problem is at the top, they weren't backed in what they wanted to do. They were told not to worry and pretty soon they didn't.'

Another school administrator said that he noticed a disturbing psychological distance developing between the teachers and the administration. Much was related to the general activities of the Teachers' Association and the antagonism of negotiations. "Not all the faculty follow the Teachers' Association position. The people here are very much individuals. We may have a few hard-nosed people, but this is a difficult community and most of the teachers think that the Superintendent is doing a good job--but one-third to one-half of them are quiet. Basically the High School is the center."

Another community member made the following comments concerning the Teachers' Association:

I have a bad taste in my mouth about unions. I work very closely with the same people and am still objective enough to be able to separate their functions and purposes, but I don't want to have anything to do with them from the standpoint of teachers' rights; they can be very influential and very positive in their approaches to teacher improvement and service. In my work, I've got very good rapport. I hope we can reach that stage here, but some of them have gotten too worked up and emotionally involved to be able to cool off. I'm really mad at some of the teachers because of the attitude that they have taken. It's not over yet. As far as the community itself, this has been a beneficial experience. What happened was that the teachers got the community so worked up that for the first time people came to the Board meetings.

A member of the central office staff added that;

The association today doesn't represent the teachers at all although the advertisements are very true concerns. The ads say 'We speak for the teacher', but many faculty say that no one speaks for them; they speak for themselves. The association has a warped view of the Superintendent because from its perspective management always looks bad, but the faculty is supportive of what he's doing. It's their own fault that they have this warped view. The superintendent enters into negotiations and he's so bright and smart that it's really overwhelming. The Board and superintendent are very close. The association believes he dominates. The question his leadership and they feel as if they have to keep seeking his approval. The Board is very sophisticated. The new president is very sharp. This year there hasn't been too much done because of the negotiations. The R.I.F. was a misunderstood issue. They assumed in April that the district would keep twenty-two people that were supposed to be fired. They had these little coffee klatches but the citizens didn't want to talk about it. The twenty-two people were unnecessary and added expense. The citizens asked many questions about discipline and teacher professionalism and wouldn't support the association.

Commenting on the administration's reaction to R.I.F., one community member said:

In the name of economy the members of the school board voted themselves an 8% increase in pay plus 3% across the board which is 11% and which is very nice when you're telling these teachers that they don't have a job any more. They did nothing to help them get new jobs. Our problem definitely stems from the head of the school system. We had the only system with sixteen administrators and four assistant superintendents. Perhaps if we had the finest school system in the state then I wouldn't care, but when it's bordering on chaos and havoc and you still have sixteen administrators someone has got to ask questions. The superintendent has pointed out that when you're heating a house and some children move away, you don't shut off the heat, you merely close down some of the rooms. This is all right on the surface, but then you spend a lot of time figuring out what did he say? He has never been wrong, ever! He's extremely intelli-

gent and if no one rattles his cage, he's happy. I've never heard anyone say anything good about him. A number of teachers and staff have nothing nice to say.

We've had some hilarious things happen. We run an educational center which according to the superintendent only costs $8,000 a year to run. I would love to see it run on $8,000. I can't feed a family on $5,000. They bought beef cattle, Black Angus to raise. They were rustled, just disappeared, and no one knew where they went. You go and buy them, raise them to the size they're supposed to be, and they just disappear. Things like this happen all the time.

The Board of Education truck is at T.J.'s house 90% of the time. He's another good friend of the Superintendent. It's sad, not funny. They get away with it. It's turned into a very sad situation.

In relation to Project Alter, the staff was told by building administrators that there was some uncertainty about precisely what Selover was doing and what his goals were, although he was spoken of in "glowing generic terms." Some cynicism was directed at Sonnovy. "He's using this whole thing (Alter) for his own benefit." This is the impression of many of the staff.

Another administrator, commenting on the procedural changes incorporated in Alter, said:

> The instructional program is the teacher's responsibility. Agreement on curriculum has been a little difficult; they were isolated before and they didn't have to worry about agreement, but now they are competitive for resources. There's some confusion about relationships with some individuals in the district. The administration sometimes deals with groups as individuals and sometimes with individuals as groups. This causes some problems in defining relationships and pinpointing responsibility. There should have been more time in the introduction of Alter, there should have been more meetings. It was a little fast. Less should have been demanded of the teachers. It should have been a stepwise procedure.

From the central office came this comment on Alter:

> They (teachers) really don't understand the process of Alter although neither do I really understand it.
>
> The refinements and diagrams are very heavy. The language and the concepts are very difficult. They are threatening while at the same time having great utility. Threats cause insecurity and therefore isolation. The

teachers have become involved in their own fears and see you as you are. There's a growing independence. Halsted has the most severe reaction; some teachers are pulling their weight but a lot aren't at all.

In an interview with a community figure the research staff was told:

> If you really want to know about that (Alter) you'd have to ask the teachers because they are so madly in love with that computer that they'll probably bomb the center. The marking is all done through the computer now. Instead of having the teacher write down 'John gets a B', marks are put on a sheet of paper. The teacher can't add them up. No comments are made or anything and it goes to the computer. The teacher gets it back, checks the addition and division and sends it back, and gets it back again four times. They used to just take the report card and put down a mark. It costs more money now. Of course that makes it better. That's what they work on, if it costs more it must be a better system. It used to be a personal thing. The human side is gone, too. That's very unfortunate because the more human contact you have in schools the better off you are.

These sentiments were contradicted by a member of the central office staff who said the following:

> Many of our staff don't know the whole thing although the communications have always been there. People learn what they are ready to learn. The administrators here have developed a credibility and I have developed a lot of credibility with the staff as well as the community. I make people uncomfortable because I make them learn. Credibility with the community is terribly important. The other school [Webster] has a reputation for being a leader in elementary education. There's a lot of jealousy which you'll [to a staff member] probably pick up.

Another building administrator made this comment on the Teachers' Association:

> The Teachers' Association sought to go for public approval in settling the negotiations. In doing so they didn't use a great deal of common sense. They went out for public criticism, not realizing it was a double-edged sword and would come back to them. If they criticized the program they had to realize they were criticizing the staff. It came back to how the whole system worked. The leadership of the association in the past was rather intelligent but amiable and they negotiated differently. This year the leadership was made up of a small group, particularly the leadership from the High School and they were aggressive. They acted very impulsively and didn't consult their membership.

Another administrator recalls; "An N.S.I.C. representative came to the negotiations and ruined the chances. This man looked like a hit man for the Mafia. He badgered the Board verbally and the citizens didn't like these tactics. The Board particularly didn't stand for it. He was shot down at the meeting. They were really infuriated at the way they were handled. They almost threw this guy out, very abrasive."

In describing his school, a building administrator said:

> It was very humanistic, informal, a family organization. There used to be a lot of Teachers' Association parties; everyone went and had a good time but this is no longer the case. There has been a great deal of pressures and tension, a great deal of financial and personal concerns, school concerns. The staff has drifted away; there used to be a real system, a real tight social organization. Then people began to get caught up in their own worlds. People were independent but close socially. Today there is less group activity involving the faculty. Instructional units have raised a great amount of contradictions; they forced people to work together, face each other and talk to each other. Time scheduling became a problem. There were conflicts of self-interest and responsibility. Alter requires more time. The teacher has lost some control over the student's day and time because of the time demands made by Alter. They resent this a little. You have to share time with special teachers and now the parents are involved in deciding what school time should be used for.

A project staff member was told during an interview with a top administrator:

> The issue of thorough and efficient education is being fought out here because it's a model that has to be tested and if it can be a success here there will be no way at all to stop it from being implemented elsewhere. That is why this is all so important and causing problems. A problem has always been that the Teachers' Association has had nothing to ask for except money. When the teachers would ask for more power, the Board would say why--since the teachers haven't had an issue since 1967. Now the K.T.A. wants to get anything into the contract. The problem is that the Board used to be nine individual members with nine individual ways of looking at things. The way the Board has reacted to the K T.A.'s obstreperousness this year has been to become a Board, to come together as a political body, and to say 'no'. Now the information management system is the target for N.S.I.C. It's not I.R.F. they care about . . . teachers got laid off in other districts in the state this year and you don't see N.S.I.C. breathing down their necks.

> K.T.A., an organization whose chief concern is the occupational security of its members has no interest in seeing a system like this change. We are going to improve instruction in this district by upgrading staff. In the future we'll be able to say to a teacher when he is hired, 'You say you're a teacher, but I don't know that. If you are going to stay here you're going to have to produce what you said you'd produce'. At the end of the first school year we can assess his performance objectively and if we're not satisfied we can make specific recommendations; we can send him to workshops, whatever, but at the end of the second year if we're not satisfied that teacher won't stay.

3. Problems of the Organization Summarized

It is appropriate at this point, as a sequel to the problems of the organization as stated by key figures, to suggest organizational problems as stated by research project personnel. The problems identified are long-range in nature and reflect the current functioning of the organization as a system. While premature in relation to the evidence offered thus far, the reader should keep these observations in mind as the remainder of the case study unfolds. The problems are stated in terminology consistent with the flow of the analysis of the organization and thus it is hoped that the reader will be reminded of these projections as he is introduced to succeeding and interdependent sections of the case study. Preliminary analysis has led the research staff to propose that Project Alter is not a crucial problem in Kepler. Rather, Project Alter has become a manifestation of other, more endemic problems.

It can be said that Project Alter plays an important role as a motivating force behind the initial problem seen in the organization; this being the symbolic role that Alter plays in satisfying the needs of the paternal superintendent. The traditionally docile and supportive family organization presided over by the superintendent has, with the introduction of Alter (his mechanism for notoriety), threatened the success of the experiment and thus jeopardized the satisfaction of his needs. The

organization is seen as a rebellious child interfering with the adult world, a world which they are incapable of appreciating.

Closely related to this problem is the conflict between the traditional environment of the organization, which is isolated and rurally unsophisticated in the local sense, and the new environment. This new environment has resulted from the introduction of a management system threatening the organization as a whole. Two circumstances have exacerbated this problem. First, the organization as a whole cannot distinguish between threat and opportunity. This circumstance is recognized acutely by the Superintendent and the central staff both of whom are hostile toward teachers who do not see Project Alter as an opportunity. At a different level, the intrusion of the N.S.I.C. is seen both as a threat to some teachers and as an opportunity to others even though exploitation is sensed. Secondly, the organization is not equipped with defense and adaptive mechanisms appropriate to: (a) interpreting threat, opportunity, and reality at the system level; and (b) either synthesizing opportunity into the organization or insulating itself from, or adapting to, environmental changes induced by external threats. The Reduction in Force (R.I.F.) controversy laid bare these inadequacies, which in historical context can be clearly explained by Kepler's isolation from external threat. It was not until Kepler became an innovative district, interested in establishing an image as an island of educational advancement, and when the geographical area assumed the burden of advancing suburbia that the district became vulnerable to external challenges to its traditional environment either by its own accord or by chance.

It is important to suggest that the organization both because of deficient adaptive, synthesizing, defensive machinery, and of integrative structure insuring consistent system-wide response to threat and opportunity, will remain vulnerable to the consequences of intrusion. More appropriately, it will also be vulnerable to

internal structural strains from reaction. Along these lines there is a widening gap between the assessment of reality and the appropriateness of response to internal conflict and transgressions of group boundaries between traditional sub-groups (passive teachers, "local" community, and cosmopolitan administration) and currently among emerging sub-groups (radical teachers, active community, and isolated administration). These are defined as the activist level of the traditional sub-groups.

A fourth problem identified questions the ability of the superintendent to maintain his control structure in the organization. Originally attracted to the organization because of its passive and docile nature, the superintendent has developed a "linking pin" system to maintain key personnel on a rotating basis in the school units. The superintendent's team cycles from school unit to central office and back to school unit in the capacity of principal (in the field) and assistant superintendent (at the central office). This tactic insures local control of school units by rewarding principals with central office posts and sending central office people into the field on special missions symbolic of the superintendent's trust. This rotation cycle offers relief for the hassled principal and alleviates the boredom of isolated central office staff. By "recharging batteries" in this way the team's intactness over a period of time is retained, turnover is reduced, thereby eliminating the need for training new team members, and the team is kept inbred. However, there is evidence that this "linking pin" structure is deteriorating. The community is becoming increasingly alienated by the superintendent's arbitrary actions. A key team member has become heavily involved in a project, suspected of being motivated by his own self-interest, and another field team member faces public credibility problems. There is an unrecognized competition between the superintendent and a team member over ultimate acknowledgement for

the success of Alter and a widening independence of the Board from the superintendent's dominance. All these developments have resulted in the reduction of the superintendent's paternal dominance over the community, teachers, and fellow team members. Thus the ultimate source of the superintendent's control--his invulnerability--is challenged.

Sensing both the changing tide of community and Board response to the superintendent and concurrent teacher reaction, team members are becoming increasingly uncertain of the new internal environment of the organization. This uncertainty may become a long range threat to the control the superintendent has enjoyed over the rural community. This spectre of uncertainty is perhaps the organization's most crucial problem at the most general level. Newton has functioned as an isolated unit in a traditional internal environment, with control over that environment resulting in confidence and a certainty about the future. The situation has changed though and the organization is now faced with:

(1) Various external threats, interpretations and responses.

(2) Internal threats including the destruction of the "family" atmosphere, traditionally passive groups split and are in conflict with the active groups, credibility gaps, exploitation by insiders and outsiders, and the sense of social deterioration of school climates.

(3) Unsuccessful experiences in response to internal and external threats resulting in frustration.

(4) A sense of low integration of organizational sub-groups, implying slow and ineffective mobilization of organization members to threats to the organizational equilibrium that has historically been enjoyed.

The new environment has set group against group in search of those responsible to lay the blame for awakening Kepler from the traditional environment it has known. Groups have not been drawn together as is customary for this highly integrated

organization.

The organization is passing through an evolutionary development from local to cosmopolitan, from isolated to current, from unified to dichotomized. The remainder of this case study analysis will project the path of this evolution and suggest where it will emerge and what it will look like. Ultimately the study will suggest that accountability implementation functions as a mechanism for adaptation in a changing environment.

4. Background Information of the Organization

a. Key Developmental Phases

The organization has experienced a series of changes in its external (and consequently its internal) environment that constitute developmental phases, although such classification is the product of research staff. Key developmental phases are those single or aggregate experiences in the life of the organization that result in significant alterations of the organization's ability to specify consistent goals and engage in activities and tasks relevant to the achievement of those goals. The organization members interviewed provided a consistent set of significant experiences. Although not delineated as succinct developmental stages, the experiences offered provided a chronological framework for project staff analysis. This framework will be suggested after the summarized responses of the sampled organization members and peripheral observers are presented.

Members of the organization consistently suggested that a key change occurred in the organization with its emergence from a traditional, rural, provincial, unsophisticated environment smack into the liberalism of the late 1960s. This transition came with population shifts and, more importantly, with changes in the academic environment. The community remained latently indifferent to the influences

of open education, increased self-determination for students, and new organizational structures allowing for participatory decision-making. Federal and state legislation made funds available to school districts experimenting with educational innovations and Kepler became a beneficiary of such aid among rural districts in New Salem . The docile atmosphere of the community and the family structure of the faculty combined with the availability of funds to make Kepler a leader in progressive experimentation in education.

There were, however, consequences of Kepler's emergence from localism to cosmopolitanism. Among these consequences noted by organizational members as crucial events in Kepler's recent history were:

(1) The deterioration of the academic environment of the High School resulting from its factory-like construction, the failure of the curriculum to accomodate the needs of the vocationally oriented student, the increasing drop-out rate, and the lack of discipline and leadership.

(2) The opening of the Webster School as the symbol of experimentation and excellence in Kepler and the impending rivalry with the less privileged Paters School.

(3) The awakening of the community to educational issues during the period when the consequences of liberal education made themselves manifestly clear in the home.

(4) The introduction of the GIC/UAS structure in the Webster School, changing the traditional structure of the classroom in such a way as to place the principal as mediator between competing groups in quest of educational resources.

(5) The introduction of Project Alter which was intended to develop a system of district-wide goals and objectives, measures of objectives, and budgeting practices determined by the attainment of objectives within individual programs.

(6) The subsequent activation of the K.T.A. to the I.R.F. debate and to substantial procedural burdens imposed by Project Alter solidifying concerns within the

the district of the dysfunctional nature of the negotiating process, and especially after the N.S.I.C. intrusion, dichotomizing the community.

These six events closely followed the common awareness that Kepler was evolving from a traditional, innocuous environment into one replete with new influences, opportunities, demands, and consequences. These observations came from community members, more strongly emphatic of the negative effects of Kepler's courtship with liberalism.

Placing these experiences into a chronological framework, the following developmental phases can be suggested: (1) the traditional environment; (2) influx of liberalism in social and educational arrangements; (3) the consequences of this influence (both positive and negative); (4) the predominance of negative residuals on the organization as successive events were consistently perceived relative to the deterioration of the simple, unsophisticated, and inherently strong rural environment. These last events being:

(1) Physical deterioration of the modern High School into an unmotivated, low discipline, low morale, and curricularly irrelevant factory.
(2) The emergence of the Webster School as the bright star of the district.
(3) GIC/UAS introduced as a participatory decision-making environment but evolving as a locale of conflict.
(4) Project Alter providing district-wide planning and procedural confusion.
(5) The emergence of the K.T.A. with N.S.I.C. support as an alienating sub-group.
(6) The I.R.F. controversy involving accusations of broken promises and inappropriate conduct.

The emergence of key developmental phases correponds chronologically with a ubiquitous sense of environmental change.

Within the organization, the traditions of the past were universally sensed as having yielded to the thrust of modern trends in social relations; that is, permissiveness with the concurrent educational trends toward the open classroom and participatory decision-making. The disequilibrium perceived within the organization by its members, with relation to its traditional norms, was associated with both the impact of innovation and the administration's propensity for experimentation. The impact and velocity of change helps to explain the teacher resistance to Project Alter and other district innovations. The developmental phases previously delineated suggest a pattern of intensifying confrontation concurrent with this overall educational trend in a progression of experiences indicative of the consequential nature of change. Each experience signified the uncompromising assault of change. With the emergence of each phase, consequences were perceived and reactions occurred. In the final phase, the aggregate events all manifested the confrontation between the old and new; that is, the desire to regress to the simple equilibrium of the past as opposed to the need to progress, improve, and lead others. These then are the key developmental phases experienced by the organization in its modern life.

b. Major Crises Experienced by the Organization

The major crises experienced may very well coincide with the key developmental phases of organizations. They can, however, often precipitate the emergence of new phases or alter the course of phases in existence. Major crises are classified by their source, intensity, and long-range effect on the organization. Here, we are concerned with the nature of stimulation in the organization to the crisis and the nature of the subsequent reaction. An organization in equilibrium with its internal and external environments will exhibit reactions proportionately balanced with stimulation.

(1) Natural Catastrophies:

Events sufficiently beyond the control of organizational manipulation are natural catastrophies. Acts of nature, while suggesting the largest category of natural catastrophy, does not exhaust the classification in the organization under study here. The organization suffered the loss of four hundred students in the course of the opening of a regional high school in a nearby town. The loss of these four hundred students from a "sender" district constituted not only a financial contingency but also the inevitable loss of teaching positions in the school district, primarily at the High School. The crisis was a traumatic intrusion on the paternal organization and resulted in the mobilization of traditional responses which ultimately failed.

(2) Loss of Key Personnel:

The project staff is unaware of the loss of key individuals in the organization in recent organizational life.

(3) Labor Problems:

According to a key member of the organization, the Teachers' Association has become active but increasingly non-representative of the faculty body. When asked on a district-wide questionnaire what factor is most important in determining the permanency of your job, 1.7% of the teachers said the K.T.A.; when asked who would be most helpful in working out problems connected with your job, no one suggested the T.A., and when asked who would you go to with a complaint or gripe connected with your job, 12.6% suggested the T.A. Issues of current importance to the Teachers' Association are: I.R.F., Project Alter this study, GIC/UAS, administration cutbacks, teacher evaluation, and the atmosphere of mistrust between administration and teacher.

(4) Technological Changes:

The three most current and significant technological changes experienced by

the organization have been: (1) the introduction of the GIC/UAS structure in the elementary schools; (2) the introduction of PPBS in Project Alter and (3) the use of data processing formalized as a management information system. The first technological innovation was intended to develop channels and opportunities for participatory decision-making in the school units; this was then a structural/curricular innovation. The second innovation attempted to develop a district-wide budgeting by program system where funds are allocated on the basis of achievement of stated objectives. This constituted an administrative innovation, although key persons in the central office suggest that Project Alter will also result in better instruction. The third innovation was the use of data processing equipment to generate a data bank on student achievement for the purposes of placement and remedial analysis. Teacher paperwork has been the most obviously effected by the new system; it has been decreased and impersonalized. These three innovations, along with many others within individual programs, have generated Kepler's image of leadership in education. These three have also been the sources of crisis for the district, resulting in recent confrontations between the innovators and those who must cope with the innovations in daily organizational life. The net result of these developments has been a dichotomization within the organization between those who see the innovations as opportunities for progress and those who view these new procedures and practices as meaningless additions to their daily duties and activities. There has thus developed in the organization a failure to differentiate opportunity from liability.

c. Product-Service History

(1) Change and Development of Organizational Goals:

While much of the current discussion has focused on the problems, developmental phases, and crises experienced by the organization, there is less evidence from organi-

zational members of changes and developments in the goals of the organization. Historically the goals assumed by the organization have reflected the innate posture of the community and the familial relationship of the superintendent and teacher. In the last ten years, while the organization has experienced perceptibly negative influence from outside sources, there has been some fluctuation in unanimity. Following the high school crisis in the late 1960's, organizational goals shifted slightly toward providing the non-college-bound student with useful educational experiences and in reestablishing a climate conducive to learning. Near the end of this period and into the early 1970's goals expanded, (at least as perceived by the central office), to include Kepler's leadership in educational innovation vis-à-vis the state. These goals were and are not unanimously shared by other organization members, who, very simply, were concerned with teaching children and maintaining the productive climate of the school. However, these shifts are clearly dichotomized between central office administration who desire educational leadership, teachers who desire improvement of students, and building administration who lean towards the maintenance of their school units as learning climates.

Responses to the questionnaire were perhaps more indicative of current district sentiments related to organizational goals at the unit and system level. When personnel were asked for a recommendation to help individual units achieve their goals 20% of all respondents were unable to make any recommendations. This suggests that either the problems of the units were too great or that they were satisfied with goals and performance; we suppose the latter. When asked what recommendations the organization might make to the district in the achievement of its goals, individuals responded most often with, "better relationships between staff and discipline in the high school." Other choices at the Webster and Paters Schools were, "better working conditions," and in the High School, "improved relationships between staff members."

Here the responses to district level goals and improvements elicited a stronger response from the organization as a whole. It is tempting to imply that the organization offers evidence of complacency with unit level goals and performance, and dissatisfaction with district goals and performance; however, it is appropriate only to report the greater response level in relation to the unit and allow the reader to form a conclusion. Our evidence does suggest that conflict in goal orientation does exist within the organization. The teachers are clearly interested in specific student-related goals while the central office staff concerns itself with more global issues. The widening of goal horizons in the central office is in theory and practice alien to the other sub-groups in the organization. The implication is that while central office interests, activities, tasks, and policies reflect a bias, these same policies will have a different effect on others in the organization, supportive of different goals and involved in different activities and tasks. The net effect of this circumstance is a lack of goal concensus and conflicting organizational activities and tasks.

(2) Sequences of Development in Product or Service:

Reference is made in this section to the sequence of change in the organization that resulted in modification of organizational goals. The primary influence affecting the consistency of these organizational and sub-system goals has been the influx of external social and educational trends. These trends are generally referred to in the organization as permissiveness, liberalism, and open education. The influences remain however largely unarticulated by the organization membership and may be expressed as the antithesis of rural, traditional, simple life styles. Although imprecise in definition, the sensation of change from old to new and the awareness of the velocity of that change are ubiquitous in the organization. As reported by several

members of the organization, the prevalence of substantive change is a function of velocity; we are much more aware of the power of a locomotive as it speeds by us than when it is idle. Such is true of changing environments, where organizations must discriminate between the illusion of rapid change and substantive change.

In educational organizations, substantive change (innovation) is more likely to be a functional illusion of the velocity; especially in organizations where the rate of experimental turnover is high. Individuals in such organizational climates react to the volume and voracity of innovation, rather than to the substantive quality of all that is new. It is appropriate to ask whether reactions and resistance to change relates to the content of the innovation (educational viability) or whether, in fact, the resistance is indicative of disequilibrium; where uncertainty as to new expectations and circumstances inhibits the accomplishment of new expectations. To illustrate, assume that an innovation in an educational organization requires the teacher to identify x,y,z objectives of his instructional program. These objectives are by design generated to disclose remedial problems. The substantive nature of the innovation is clear and educationally viable. The teacher is further told that the objectives developed are to be achieved during the course of the year. While expectations have been made clear, the achievement of expectations depends fundamentally on the individual's perceived (not necessarily actual) control over his immediate working environment. Organizations adapt to changing constraints, procedures, and innovations either by altering their methods or by reducing the rough edges of procedural and substantive changes in the conduct of tasks and activities. Innovation in educational organizations often precludes the effective utilization of either of these two adaptive strategies, since innovation in schools tends to be cyclical, contagious, procedural, repetitive, and stentorian. Innovations are more often than not replaced by new innovations at the first signs of deviation from ex-

pected outcomes. Quite often innovations are refined, modified, or replaced with little understanding of long term effect. Change becomes phoenix-like and consumes the organization with fanatic voracity. The residual remaining is the sensation of velocity and volume, as well as a loss of association both with the content and its viability for improvement. In an environment of such turbulence, the individual loses perceived control over the orderly and effective achievement of organizational expectations, which in the change-driven organization become difficult to articulate. Thus the conditions under which the individual accomplishes his tasks and the expectations of the organization become inconsistent, and the individual is confronted with a discrepancy between what is expected and what he thinks he can produce. Such an imbalance is called uncertainty and leads to disequilibrium and dysfunction.

The above discussion describes the sequence of developmental change and innovation in the organization. Kepler residents and school system members consistently recalled their sensation of environmental movement from traditional to emergent innovation. Evidence of this sequence stems from the aggregate responses of organizational members interviewed. When asked on the questionnaire whether they had noticed change in their schools other than size, 84% indicated they had. In the High School, 41% of the respondents noticed a great deal of change. When asked to describe these changes, people in the organizational unit identified as more innovatively oriented mentioned curriculum, while people in the less innovatively oriented (the High School and Paters), suggested students and administration constituted the most noticeable changes. When asked to rate their schools in comparison to similar schools in other districts, Paters and the High School respondents said "average," while Webster Avenue, the innovative leader of the district, indicated "above average." Inconsistent answers were received when people were asked to rate their school with

others in the district. Webster people again displayed positive sentiments while the High School and Paters said "average." Then, when the organization was asked to suggest recommendations to the individual schools for better achievement of goals, 20% gave no answer. Wnen asked to suggest improvements for district performance, all units except the High School recommended "improving relationships between staff and teachers." The High School response was "student discipline." The assumption here is that sub-system environmental conditions and goal achievement is more stable than that at the district level.

The increasing turbulence caused by the conflict of organizational goals and sub-system goals, especially over the innovative developments of GIC/UAS Project Alter, and MIS (Management Information System), has created a fluctuating environment. When this is combined with external changes, such as increasing liberalism, there has been generated a climate of increasing uncertainty as to expectations (sub-system versus organization) and constraints inhibiting achievement (unviable innovations competing with sub-system equilibrium). Resistance to change and innovation, although historically latent in the schools, can be seen as a reaction to the threat of impinging procedural and structural alterations in the traditional classroom. Of equal importance, as identified repeatedly by organizational participants, is sedimentary innovation and velocity within the organization. In virtually all the interviews conducted, continued reference is made to the excessive volume of untested innovation and commentary such as: "The system is wandering in a daze. It's difficult to understand Project Alter. The people who are hostile are threatened by it. It's only confusion. One of the problems is that it has called for a lot of paperwork. It's not flexible enough. You can't plan based on one year's time. The system is adequate but it's careful. It should be more flexible to deal with changing situations . . . confused haste." A building administrator commenting on

the MIS innovation and Project Alter revealed:

> Some teachers want to listen, but some won't and these [are the ones who] think they know best. About half of the district are interested in identifying program objectives and rational decision-making to legitimate planning and analyze results . . . To use the computer as a learning tool. People are being pushed too fast. Some say it's a secret plot against them. They've been able to see themselves by information on a print-out, so they feel that the information will be used for and against them by the central office in evaluation.

The last comment exemplifies some concepts developed in this section:

a. The variance of certainty and control over the environment present among members of the organization. Those who sense equilibrium are open to change, innovation, and adaptation to substantive improvement. Those unsure of expectations and capabilities react negatively to further intrusions and threats.
b. The variance between those in the organization who sense and discriminate effectively between opportunity and threat.
c. The strong sense of velocity, of "being pushed", that is sensed by those in the organization who are unable to adapt.
d. The creation of fantasies explaining the symptoms of disequilibrium; surreptitious plotting disguised as innovation.
e. The emergence of visual evidence of loss of environmental control and position (function) within the organization by seeing themselves on print-out.

These sequential developments, in addition to the circumstance of the changing environment subject to external influence, constitute the adjustment process with which organizational components assess and react to changing levels of environmental certainty.

(3) Relative Success or Failure in Various Stages of Service History:

Assessment of the organization's relative success or failure in achieving its

its goals is inhibited historically by the fact that the community and faculty remained reticent to central office policy. Until recently the organization has shown great success in meeting its general goals. Since the late 1960's several constraints or influences have merged to effect unilateral policy determination. The central office has remained consistent in its intolerant attitude toward rebellious sub-groups, especially the teachers and the newly emerging vocal minority in the community and student populations. Arbitrary expectations, absentee implementation, and global orientations have alienated individuals from organizational goals and central office policies. The difficulties encountered with the GIC and Alter programs evidence this posture. Inexperienced in the propitious art of negotiation and unfamiliar with the management mentality, vocal minorities in the organization have stymied innovative attempts that, while educationally viable in principle are weak in practice. These groups have inhibited successful generation and accomplishment of organizational goals. The organization merits a generally positive assessment of goal achievement but note should be made of serious pending problems as outlined earlier, which affect the organization's capacity to function effectively as a system.

(4) Special Skills of the Organization:

Summarized below are the special skills of the organization; those attitudes or social circumstances critical to the attainment of organizational and sub-system goals.

a. The capacity of the organization to generate funds for educational innovations, experiments, and projects. These skills are largely restricted to the central office. One central staff member writes and manages the grants and funds allocated to the organization from federal and state sources.

b. Eighty-one percent of the members of the organization indicated that they enjoyed a great deal of planning in their jobs. This asset creates a more stabilized environment, which also results in the maintenance of local autonomy. In theory, this circumstance provides an organizational cushion from disruptive change.

c. Thirty-one percent of the faculty have graduate degrees and 75% indicated that they wanted additional training. This attitude is conducive to an academic climate of motivation and learning.

d. A highly homogenous staff; 90% said they were very close or quite close to others in the organization. When asked, "How well do you like the people in the district?", 57+% said, "a great deal" and 39.5% said, "very well." Relationships between teachers and building administrators were reflected when the organization was asked if they were contacted about changes in their job; 72% said "usually." However, when asked if the district was interested in the welfare of the organization, 41% said they thought the district was "not very interested." This follows previous comments concerning the variance between local and central office conditions.

(5) Performance Reputation and Record:

Newton enjoys a very positive reputation within the state for educational excellence and innovativeness. Central office staff frequently travel to other districts and educational locales to discuss Kepler's rich innovative history. The community sees the school district somewhat differently, criticizing the self-interests of central staff in educational change and the irresponsibility of the teachers' group. The organization as a whole suggested that the community was friendly toward the Webster School and the central office (42% for each), and neither friendly nor

unfriendly towards the Paters School and the High School. Local media representatives said of the school district: "They [the community] want to know a little more about the way their money is being spent. In knowing a little more about that they are a little more concerned for themselves whether this is a well-rounded education, whether there are frills? . . . Do the students have the basics?"

d. Organizational Folklore

It is appropriate to complete the presentation of historical data with folklore surrounding the mystique of the organization's most ambitious innovation in its current life. The innovation called a "cyclical planning activity" is intended to improve learner performance by utilizing systems approaches in planning, according to a technical brief on the project. To the members of the organization, the project is commonly known as "John's Days," referring to the in-service days used to disseminate and implement the project; "John's Thing," referring to suspected underlying self-interest in the success of the project; and "John Sonnovy's computers," referring to the use of data processing, data storage, and data retrieval on student achievement. This folklore of nicknames for the organization's planning system tells much about the relationships that have evolved among organization members in the process of innovation and change. The organization's flippant informality reveals to the observer that assimilation of this change has been complete within the work environment; it is currently treated as a common fact of organizational life, a minor irritation not to be taken seriously. Yet the long-run meaning of Project Alter exists far beyond the benign character ascribed by the organization. Its function is highly sophisticated and penetrating in scope. At face value this folklore may also suggest an honest expression of confusion. For the lack of a better descriptive phrase, organ-

izational members complacently accept the inevitable intrusion of "John's Days" into the work structure. In any context, the folklore emphasizes the cleavage between sub-system and central office orientation to change and innovation, and as previously presented, the organization's inability to discriminate between threat and opportunity. Perhaps even more ominous for future relations between administration and organization is the faint sense of resentment in the child's reaction to the parent's expectations.

II. DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS OF CURRENT ORGANIZATION AS A WHOLE

A. Structural Data

1. Formal Organization

A chart describing the formal organization has been included in the appendix, (Figure 2). The organization is centralized around central staff personnel. Three assistant superintendents are responsible for special services, business, and planning. Each supervises a small and informal staff. The teachers and nonprofessional staff fall under the responsibility of the assistant superintendent for planning. An administrative council links the central office to building administration.

2. Physical Resources

Land, buildings, and equipment are valued at over two hundred thousand dollars and inventories of materials and supplies are valued at cost for one hundred eighty one thousand dollars. The organization has three main structures not including special facilities outside the district. Two of the schools are modern and contemporary. The third unit, the Paters School, although recently renovated has an image of old age and deficiency. This image has resulted, as we will suggest later, in an inferiority complex.

3. Ecology of the Organization

Individuals are concentrated in the locations where tasks are accomplished. There is little movement between organizational locations. Each unit performs a unique function, given its facilities, instructional structure, and grade level. Integration of work activities and sense of work flow or total product is precluded by the uniqueness of the three school units.

4. Financial Structure

School budgets are approved by the community. In recent years the organization has had little resistance to school expenditures. The organization's budgetary system is based upon a modified Program, Planning, Budgeting System in which programs within the organization, such as mathematics, develop their own budget for the fiscal year. The PPBS system will be linked to program performance in the achievement of stated goals. This is part of Project Alter the management system of the organization. Instructional budgets are prepared by program members and presented to school principals along with proposed allocations for instructional support and community services. These are evaluated, revised, and sent to the superintendent who then presents them to the community for approval. The organization budget for fiscal year 1974-75 was $3,750,000. Local taxes accounted for over half of the revenues; tuition for one-third; and the remainder from state and federal aid. A complete account of wages totals $2,735,000 and represents the organization's largest liability. The organization's debt service amounted to $74,500 with an interest of $9,578.50. The principal totaling $65,000 on a Webster Avenue school bond is due in 1974-75, leaving an outstanding balance of $325,000 as of June 30, 1974 with maturity June 1, 1979. School improvements have been planned in a financial capsule over a four year period through 1978 with an estimated expenditure of $300,000.

5. Personnel

The organization employs one hundred and sixty professional personnel and ten administrators. 23% of the staff are between 41-50 years old; 20.2% are between 31-40 years old; 18.5% are between 26-30 years old; and 16.8% are between 22-25 years old. Fifty-eight percent of the professional staff are women. Fifty-five percent of the staff had a bachelors degree only, while 31% had masters degrees. In evaluating length of time with the organization, 14.3% of the staff had been there for five years; the next largest group, 13%, had been in the organization for three years. Sixty-nine members of the staff were recruits from college, eighty-seven from other school districts, and two each from the military and home. There are one hundred white, one black, and two Hispanic staff members. Absenteeism within the professional staff was 12.46 days per year including vacation days for personnel on twelve month contracts. For the academic year 1972, twenty-five new members were added to the staff; the turnover rate for the previous year was approximately 15%. This year the turnover rate will be unusually high because of the R.I.F. in Kepler (Reduction in Force) in which nineteen teachers lost positions in the organization.

6. Structure for Handling Personnel

Contact with the organization for employment is usually transmitted through advertising, college mailings, the county superintendent, the reputation of the district, and the geographic location. After initial contact has been made, the organization takes great care in sustaining the level of interest in the organization. Applicants receive confirmations for the various steps of the application and interview process. Interviews are conducted by several members of the administration. Kepler prides itself with traditionally having attracted top people to the organization. New members are oriented to the system through the use of the traditional

buddy system, and teacher handbooks and guides. Department chairmen, principals, and unit leaders help new members entering the organization, but many find their own efforts more functional. The superintendent participates directly in the orientation of new members in the central office. Although additional training (in-service) has not been widely recognized by the staff, growth on the job has been an important concern of the central office. Organizational members are encouraged to participate in professional organizations and pursue additional study. However, with over 31% of the organization holding advanced degrees motivation for advanced learning is less persistent. Promotion and evaluation are handled through both formal and informal channels. Principals and department chairmen are expected to evaluate staff periodically on the basis of student response, teaching style, personal characteristics, and classroom climate. Other evaluations in writing attempt to measure teacher efficiency in the use of time, individualization, attention to relevancy, and flexibility of curriculum. Teachers are paid on a sliding scale from A to H depending upon years of experience and level of training. Starting pay for inexperienced teachers with B.A. degrees is $8,110 and for the highest level, "H", (over 16 years experience and a doctorate) is $17,648. Pay differentials are made on the basis of extra duties, military service, or extraordinary performance on the job. Administrator salaries are based upon a percentage scale/ratio to the highest teacher salary and vary depending upon years of service. Assistants to the chief administrative officer received compensation (May, 1968) of 1.35 to 1.50 of the top teacher's salary.

Supervision of employees is conducted through building principals and supervisors at the district level. Rules and regulations are highly formalized and available to the members of the staff. Rules cover most conceivable job-related activities. Labor contracts in the past have been largely informal and reflect the

communal nature of the organization. Current economic conditions, teacher lay-offs, and increasing demands on teacher time have made contract negotiations one of the most critical and emotionally exhausting activities the organization must engage in.

7. Policies and Procedures

Policies and procedures identify the scope of organizational efforts to order and control the methods by which the organization attains its goals. These methods are intended in most organizations to insure consistency and commonality of operations contributing to quality and efficiency. In the service organization, policies and procedures perform similar functions, even though operational processes are highly individualized by nature and product quality and efficiency measures are crude. The organization under study here is a service organization which, by nature, allows for individualization of production operations (teaching) and general measures of quality and efficiency. Policies and procedures are derived from two functions: maintaining the day-to-day operation of the individual units; and maintaining district-wide quality evaluation and control.

Above these levels and largely segregated from the general operation of the organization are the planning policies that actively involve the superintendent, the assistant superintendent for research, planning and evaluation, the assistant superintendent for special services, and peripherally, the assistant superintendent for business affairs. Policies developed at this level tend to involve matters of strategic planning for the organization's future within the constraints of the outside environment. The derivatives of strategic planning activities are concerned with the allocation of organizational resources and the evaluation of outcomes. Along these lines, the organization has developed a computer based system for integrating the budgeting, programming, planning, and evaluation of organization activities. The

procedures defining task and activity accomplishment for members of the organization are formal, and historically, inflexible to the traditional and customary ways of the organization. These traditional patterns have evolved over years of service history; the basic relationship between teacher and student and its causal relationship to learning has remained intact, undaunted by the illusion of innovation and change. These traditional policies and practices are seminal and have become characteristic of the service organization in education. What has been shown here is a tri-level system of policy formulation. The upper two levels are peripherally and superfluously related to the fundamental tasks of the organization; educating children. Placing Kepler on the "map" of educational innovation in New Salem (strategic planning) and implementing a quality control system largely alien to the historical evolution of organizational task accomplishment (management control) are policy developments that may ultimately result in organizational disequilibrium. The third level of policy formulation is informal and largely unrecognized within the organization. Joseph Bower in Managing the Resource Allocation Process (1972) suggests that decisions in manufacturing firms requiring the allocation of resources originate from those individuals closest to the client, rather than from top management. This concept is quite appropriate for service organizations, schools in particular.

If we assume that the student is the client and the teacher is the closest organizational member to that client, then we must, as Bower suggests with the project manager, assume that the teacher initiates the decision-making process. The motivation to suggest the allocation of resources for the accomplishment of organizational goals derives from the discrepancy noted by the project manager between what he is expected to accomplish and what he can accomplish with the resources at his command. This discrepancy creates uncertainty, that, in turn, results in the sug-

gestion of additional resources for production expansion. In the classroom the teacher may also perceive a discrepancy between what is expected and what can be accomplished with the resources at command. When this occurs additional resources, reallocation of resources, or substantive innovation in procedures are suggested to rebalance expectations and production. Teacher initiated innovation or reallocation of resources occurs within the confines of the classroom. It remains unnoticed by the organization, or it results in curriculum revision within a grade level or innovation in instructional support systems or practices. What is important to note here is that teachers, as those closest to the client, develop, suggest, and implement organizational policies that may or may not be noticed by the organization.

What has occurred in the organization informally, and this is crucial functionally, is a bi-polar system of policy-making. On one side of the continuum are policies generated by central management, some affecting the accomplishment of efficient and quality organizational tasks and goals, but many having little effect on the fundamental processes of the organization. At the other end of the continuum, are equally forceful (though silent) teacher (and in some cases middle management) initiated policies. These are narrow in scope within the classroom or program but critical to the accomplishment of organizational tasks and goals. Awareness of these two policy sources has recently surfaced in this organization in the conflict over Project Alter. It is clear that the teachers are emerging as vital links to the success of central office strategic planning and management control policies. It is also clear that the teachers are unaware of the bi-polar relationship in policy determination even though they express great independence in unit planning activities. The teachers are beginning to feel their presence on this conceptual continuum at the same time that central staff are becoming alert. An initial consequence of the increasing awareness of each other's part in policy determination has been transgres-

sion of sentient boundaries by both sides; each suggesting the other's incompetence in dealing with the matters of the other force.

In summary, the organization has policies that reflect the day to day operation of the school; the maintenance of district-wide quality evaluation and control; and policy and planning reflecting Kepler's image as an innovative leader in New Jersey. Policies and procedures developed to support these functions derive from two opposing ends of the decision-making continuum: the teaching staff and the central office staff. The teaching staff policies are largely informal and unnoticed and are most influential in the accomplishment of fundamental organization tasks. Central office policies are largely superfluous and ineffective in the accomplishment of organizational tasks. Final policies originating at the point closest to the client (teacher and student respectively) have the greatest influence on the accomplishment of organizational goals and significantly influence management control and strategic planning functions.

b. How They Are Communicated

How policies and procedures are communicated results in the way the policies are carried out by organizational members. Policies that are formally and strictly promulgated are adhered to in some organizations but ignored in others; while informal or ritualized policies are adhered to by tradition. In this organization, policies emanating from the central office are informally presented. Of those who answered the questionnaire, 51% indicated that they were usually contacted about changes in their job and 25% said they were seldom contacted. When we asked about the quality of planning and organizing in each unit 43.6% indicated that the planning was good (a positive response) and 55.4% said the planning was not very good (a negative response). We then asked if the rules of the organization were strict and were told by 38+% that is was "easy going," by 37% that it was "very easy going," and by 21% that

it was "average." We asked the people in the organization how much freedom they had in planning. Eighty-one percent replied that they were given great freedom in planning. The most planning occurred in the High School. Finally, we wanted to know how people heard about what was going on in their district. We were told that 75+% found out from fellow workers. We also asked if members' ideas were given consideration by the district. Fifty percent said that their ideas were given some acknowledgement; 25% said a "great deal," and 16% said "very little."

From these responses and from the interviews conducted, it would appear that half of the organization is seldom contacted about changes in job duties; the majority of the organization saw the rules pertaining to faculty and students as easy-going; over half the organization rated the planning in the units as not very good; and over 80% of the organization enjoyed great freedom in planning. Policies were promulgated through fellow workers, not necessarily by design, and there was a strong sense that ideas from organization sub-levels received transient acknowledgement. Characteristics of many organizations is the executive practice of "filling in the blanks," in which policies are left vague and informal for modification by organization units to fit local circumstances. This appears to be an informal practice in this organization and implies acknowlegement of sub-system environmental peculiarities and autonomy.

c. Who Knows About Policies and Procedures

While the organization's participants suggested that they received a "fair" amount of supervision on a scale ranging from "a great deal" to "none", district policies and procedures were widely known but selectively understood. It is this latter condition which suggests a critical imperfection in the initiation and implementation of policies. Central office policies (strategic planning and management control) are generally visible to most of the organization; however, because many

of the policies are innovations in the management of the organization (data banks, PPBS, GIC/UAS structures) few are translated into the language of teacher priorities or tasks. The result is confusion, misunderstanding, and resistance. The important question is not whether people know about policies but whether policies are presented in digestible form. An administrator commented John has had trouble communicating the purpose of the in service days devoted to the explanation of Project Alter. They are referred to as 'John's Days' because no one could tell precisely what the days were to accomplish. Our observation is that many central office policies (innovations) are cryptically presented and unsubstantiated in relation to the tradition and customary patterns of organizational goal accomplishment.

d. What Discretion Is Left to Lower Supervisory Levels

The level of discretion tolerated within an organization is a function of the flexibility of policies due to individual sub-system circumstances, and the receptivity of the top management to suggestions (modifications) from middle management. In this organization both of these conditions exist. Each of the three units presents a unique environment necessitating local discretion in policy modification. In the course of interviewing the middle management in the organization, the overwhelming concensus was that the superintendent was always accessible and keen on new ideas geared to improving the organization. This relationship has evolved historically but has been neglected in the design, planning, and implementation of current innovations, especially Project Alter.

8. Time Span and Rhythm

Organizations, regardless of whether they are product or service-oriented, are constrained by time spans in which activities and tasks are to be accomplished. In

educational organizations, the resource of time is especially critical to the accomplishment of goals. The academic year, roughly nine months in duration is the time span in which the fundamental service of learning must be accomplished and evaluated. While learning and evaluation of learning accomplishments occur throughout the period or time span, the academic year is divided into incremental learning and evaluation periods resulting in a rhythm of integrated tasks for involved subgroups. Planning of activities and tasks is founded in the academic year time span at the district level for the organization as a whole, while adjustments are made in the units periodically. Organizational energies are at a peak at the beginning of the academic year with diagnostic testing of student achievement and at the end of the time span with repeat testing that evaluates the accomplishments of the time period just completed.

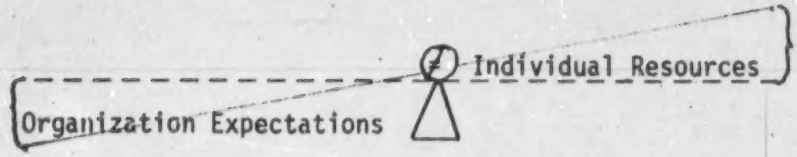
Time plays an important role in the restriction of the working day in relation to task accomplishment. The amount of time a teacher has with a student is perceived as a vital factor in learning outcomes. District innovations, especially GIC/UAS have placed a premium on the amount of time teachers have with students. The unit concept, for example, has placed the social studies unit against the science unit in competition for student time within the constraint of the school day. As more refined measurements of achievement are developed, teachers maintain that specific activities not part of the general curriculum must be included in daily routine (paperwork, program objectives development, etc.). These additional tasks subtract from the total time traditionally allocated to student contact activities; thus, units are constantly attempting to find new resources of time or reallocating time on the basis of perceived priorities among competing units. Centralized and localized planning under conditions of increasing uncertainty of goal accomplishment, given the resources at teacher command, has resulted in organizational disequilibrium.

The following chart describes this relationship.

I Equilibrium

Organization Expectations (=) Individual Resources: 1. Physical
2. Psychological

II Disequilibrium



Disequilibrium occurs when organizational expectations are greater than individual resources available to meet those expectations. Balance is achieved when:

III Balance

Organization Expectations (=) Individual Resources

Here the balance has been reestablished by increasing the individual's physical and/or psychological resources, rather than reducing expectations. For example, if the organization experiences new expectations like Project Alter, disequilibrium will occur in the organization until the resources of individuals who must meet these new expectations have been increased commensurate wtih the expectations. While in the previous discussion "time" reallocation might establish the equilibrium of the organization, we suggest that psychological resources (certainty, confidence,

reduction of anxiety) might also establish equilibrium. Psychological resources are the result of innovation design and implementation. The constraint of time can cause an imbalance between expectations and resources, and thus time (and other factors associated with time span and rhythm) affect the accomplishment of organizational goals. In addition, the introduction of new school structures, (GIC/UAS and Project Alter), while placing a premium on time, will also exacerbate the sense of urgency in meeting newly incorporated objectives within district programs. There is unambiguous evidence that additional non-teaching tasks have created pressures of rushing to meet deadlines for data processing of achievement measures compounded by frustration with data processing mistakes. The sense of urgency is an anethma to the traditional pace of the educational process. Urgency in this sense is dysfunctional in that central office policy has disrupted (perhaps by misunderstanding and negligence alone) the fundamental procedures, practices, and successes of the organization.

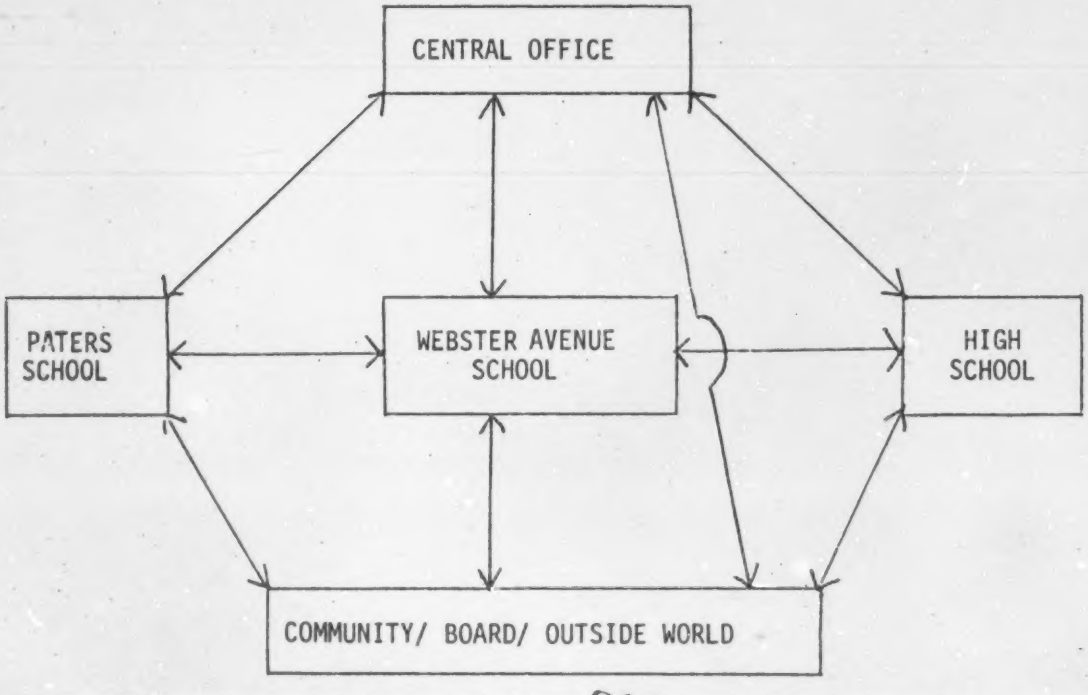
B. Process Data

1. Communication Systems

The achievement of organizational goals depends upon effective integration of the activities and tasks of the components of the system. Achieving organizational goals also depends greatly upon the consistency and reliability of the components in responding to changing conditions constraining successful performance of activities and tasks. Communication systems function as links between organizational operations (integration of component activities) at the sub-unit level and organizational planning at the system level. Information revealing current operational performance and changing environmental conditions passes through the communication matrix to middle

and upper management. Reciprocal information flows back through the matrix to the sub-units, altering operational activities in response to changing circumstances within and between the subunits. Effective communication channels regulate the speed and accuracy with which the organization as a whole responds to environmental change. Unfortunately the ideal is the exception in organization life. Communication channels, because they are links between sub-groups and individuals, are utilized as message systems for the expression of conflicting goals and expectations. Thus, a critical understanding of communication system fidelity depends upon isolating the relationship between the source of information, the intention of information, and the audience for information. In the following section this relationship is studied and analyzed.

Communication systems are those channels of information flow existing in aggregate between members within individual sub-units, between sub-units, and between the system as a whole and the outside world. These patterns in the organization are presented briefly here and at length in the appendix.



This diagram illustrates the scope and complexity of the communication system in Kepler, suggesting patterns of access to source and audience. Here we discuss the dynamic properties of the communication matrix. Specifically, we seek to examine the general nature of communication within and between the sub-units as well as the response to the outside world, stressing the relationship of sub-unit personality to communication, and the organizational practices for receiving and routing outgoing information. These descriptive topics of analysis underscore the importance of source, intention, and audience in manipulating the speed and accuracy of organizational information transmission. These two variables are essential requisites to decision-making. (A brief discussion of the utilization of data in reference to communication systems is in figure 3 of appendix 1.)

a. THE PATERS SCHOOL

There is a distinct pattern of communication in the Paters School. Every member of this unit suggested that information flow depended greatly on the conductive structure of the school organization. The school is organized around learning communities by level, each with its own unit leadership, and centrally organized through a program improvement committee. This committee, made up of faculty and community members, functions as a receptacle for incoming information, a processor of teacher suggestions, and a messenger to management. The units and committee are democratically governed under the leadership of unit leaders who act as key links with the central administration and instructional units. School building administrators were characterized as peripheral to curriculum decision-making but served as advisors to the GIC/UAS units. We were also told that the "Unit leaders get information at meetings with the principal and then pass it on to the units. They bring proposals from the faculty to the principal and then to the unit leaders in the whole school, who meet once a month." We were told that these channels were occasion-

ally bypassed and communication was made directly with the superintendent, who was repeatedly characterized as most receptive to any suggestions a staff member might bring to his attention. Dr. Wilms was said to have responded most favorably to the initiation of a system-wide PIC. In the course of conducting interviews at the Paters School, we found that people were interested in causing things to happen here. This climate was strengthened by Dr. Wilm's support of any sensible idea. He was willing to allow a lot of experimentation. An administrator made this comment; "At the Paters School the teachers tell me that last year morale took a dip, a lot of people were closed-mouthed about problems. I asked for more openness and now they bring problems to my attention . . . Before complaints were contained within the faculty room; now 60% of the staff publicly voice concerns they would never mention before." Another member of the Halsted faculty commented on the relation of the school to its constituent community; "In general there's a push to get teachers involved in decision-making. The principal's philosophy is that each unit makes its own decisions . . . and even though it's slower the teachers like it better. The system is in transition and responsive to the needs of the community. They try to feel out what the community needs. This is done largely through the superintendent and teachers who have been in the school for a while and know certain parents."

Finally, we were told that information flowed smoothly through the Halsted School because the unit often made good use of suggestions and ideas coming from its members. Many of these suggestions were made during the course of the school day in the teachers' lunchroom, a site repeatedly referred to as an important forum of communication. In addition to the interviews, much insight into communication patterns and personalities was gained from the individual questionnaires. We were first struck by the unit's response to probes of community sentiment toward the school: the most popular response (36%) was that the community felt neither friendly nor unfriendly toward the

school. This response suggested to the staff considerable variance between interview and questionnaire. We thus investigated other questionnaire responses for additional data on Halsted communication patterns.

Along these lines, the staff isolated approximately twenty-six questions that, in our judgment, indicated something about the way in which people related to each other and communicated their interests and concerns. (The questionnaire and statistical summary appear in the appendix.) These questions were somewhat arbitrarily divided into four categories for ease of analysis: (1) questions indicating quantitative contact with other members of the unit and organization; (2) communication related to work; (3) suggestions for improved communication within the unit and district; and (4) questions indicating qualitative contacts with others in the unit and organization. Each of these four will be briefly discussed here with specific reference to the Paters School, and in later sections in reference to the other components of the organization.

(1) Quantitative Indicators of Contact Within the Unit

We asked individuals at Paters a series of questions probing the nature of communication in quantitative terms. We received a strong indication that communication of expectations from the district was plentiful with 62% of the staff members suggesting that expectation levels were acceptable. (Note however that at the overall district level response to this question was 21%, indicating that the district failed to make expectations clear). The school staff indicated that opportunities for communication or contact with others in the district was only moderate and consideration of faculty ideas in the district received similar response. This agrees with the general attitude in the district; 52% said ideas were considered "somewhat." We noted the variance of the data between interviewee comments and the questionnaire responses. From our observations of the district's ongoing functioning, we assume that the ques-

tionnaire response is widely representative of the Paters faculty. A moderate response, that is, "fair amount," was also indicated when we asked the school faculty how much fairness the school would show in a conflict of opinion in which the respondent was involved. Finally the faculty was asked how much consideration they thought the school would show if personal problems were involved. The response to this question was "a fair amount." From these responses it appears that contact and communication within Paters is less vigorous than indicated by the interviewees.

(2) Indications Of Communication in Reference to Work

Items that examined relationships in reference to work were isolated from the questionnaire. Since work assumes a significant role as a source of psychological equilibrium, communication of work-related problems with organization members becomes an important mechanism of maintaining psychological balance. We asked the faculty how they knew whether they were doing a good job. The most common response (34%) was "self-evaluation," indicating to the research staff that the Paters faculty most often relied on internal rather than social support for praise. This, we conclude, has important implications for external evaluation systems like Project Cycle. Furthermore, it is evident that the tendency toward self-evaluation reduces the potential for interpersonal integration mandated by the GIC/UAS concept; we question then whether the system functions as well as indicated during the course fo the interviews. In response to inquiries as to the school's willingness to help with job related problems, we found that 55% of the faculty felt that a "fair amount" of help would be elicited. When questioned as to who they might ask for help, the faculty said "a fellow worker." This response was somewhat inconsistent with sentiments about job performance evaluations; however, we feel this question reflects more candidly on communicative facility within the school. Thus, we see comradeship in mutual aid, ulti-

mately perhaps as a function of the learning unit structure within the school. When the faculty was asked what they disliked about their job, no one suggested lack of communication or relationships with others. Relating specifically to job problems, the faculty was asked if they were contacted about changes in their job and whether their supervisor and those above him or her understood the technical problems faced in the job. In response to the first question seventy-two percent of the Halsted faculty said "usually;" and in response to the second question they said that the supervisor understood rather well but that those above him did not. We then asked a series of four questions intended to investigate the level of contact within the unit, the district, and with people outside of the district. We were told that a fair amount of contact existed within the Paters School; very little contact existed with other members of the organization; and very little contact occurred with people in schools outside the district. When asked whether the faculty wanted more contact they replied that they did. We make the assumption that contact is related to communication and the communication levels are highest within the school and quickly deteriorate outside of the home unit. We find these various responses to be unsupportive of the unanimity expressed in the interview sample. The implication here is that sentiments about the viscosity of communication channels are less convincing in relation to central office integration in the communication system and the openness described by school administration under the learning center structure.

(3) Suggestions Indicating the Desire for Enhanced Communication

As we reported recently, no one in the Paters School suggested lack of communication as an undesirable aspect of their job. When asked for suggestions on helping the school to attain its goals, the faculty did not mention better communication;

rather, they suggested reallocation of educational resources. When asked to make suggestions that might make the school a better place to work, however, the staff indicated improved relationships, specifically between teachers and between teachers and administrators. Again we conclude that the climate in the Paters School is ambiguously perceived by the faculty as being conducive to communication while simultaneously requiring improved relationships.

(4) Qualitative Contact With Others in the School and District

Finally we asked the Paters faculty a set of questions referring to contacts with others in the district but requiring qualitative responses, such as the nature of community sentiment toward the school. Along these lines we asked school system members how well they got along with people in the district, with the assumption that close relations provide a climate for the exchange of information. To this question 51% replied "a great deal," even though most of the people who answered "very little" were in the Paters School. When asked to rate how people get along in the Paters School 65% replied that people were very close. Note here the obvious identification of the faculty to the home unit rather than to the organization as a whole. This we assume to be a healthy situation, while the opposite might suggest disruption of basic organizational tasks. Recall that when school staff were asked who might help with job problems, they said "fellow workers"; here, when we asked who might help with gripes or complaints, 44% said "the person above the supervisor (the principal)." Job related problems, like curriculum are handled by unit leaders, while communication of gripes transcends this level in favor of principal intervention. The Paters faculty said that cooperation levels in the school were good, indicating high communication; however 55% agreed that the amount of tension and friction in the school was "a fair amount," and 41% said there was "very little friction." In terms of perceived fric-

tion at the district level, of the three units studied, the Paters staff reported most strongly that there was a "great deal" of friction. Important decisions were made between their administrative supervisors and top administration, while most people in the Paters School felt "fairly free" to talk to people above their administrative supervisors about problems. Finally, we asked the faculty where they heard about what was going on in the district and if they felt free to talk over problems with their immediate supervisor. To the first question, the "grapevine" was indicated as the most common source of information. To the second question we were told that they only felt "fairly free" to discuss problems with an immediate supervisor.

In summary, we suggest the following: (1) the Paters School communicates more often and more freely with its own members; (2) the learning unit structure may initiate participatory decision-making, however some doubt exists about whether the new structures provide an adequate climate for communication; and (3) the wide variances noted in responses to similar questions and between the interviews and the questionnaires indicate ambiguous perceptions of sub-unit and organization-wide relationships. Rather than expanding concensus and integration, communication is currently ineffective in reducing the psychological distance between organizational members. Here we note that speed and accuracy of information transfer are less important than the functions of concensus building and integrating individuals as a whole.

B. THE WEBSTER AVENUE SCHOOL

The Webster Avenue School is the more modern of the two elementary schools, both in instructional facilities and reputation of academic achievement and innovation. During the personal interview phase of the research study, the staff members were consistently reminded of Webster Avenue's leadership in the district and of the rivalry developed with the older Paters School. Persistent mention of Webster's lead-

ership suggested to the research staff model communication and high interpersonal integration. These initial impressions proved premature. During the course of later interviewing and data analysis, Webster reflected many of the communication patterns observed in other sub-units of the organization.

As in other units within the district, current communication patterns were the precipitate of historical changes in the internal and external climate. These changes were alluded to by a school administrator:

> There has been a great deal of change in the community; there are a great deal of pressures and tensions, a great number of financial and personal concerns, school concerns. The staff has drifted away. There used to be a system, a real school system, a tight social organization. The people began to get caught up in their own worlds. People were independent but close socially. Today there is less group activity involving the faculty. The instructional units have raised a great number of contradictions; they forced people to work together, face each other, and talk to each other . Time and scheduling became a problem. Conflicts of self and individual interest and responsibility appeared.

In addition, one teacher said, "We care about education, about trying, being the best GIC school. It's an experiment, once we were switched we keep going. Just another change, one more . . . " Experimentation in educational innovation has brought changes in organizational structure, such as classrooms, and changes in relationships between organizational participants largely of a competitive nature. While some teachers suggested that most parents thought Webster, with its Guided Instruction Coop was a good place for children overall, other teachers commented:

> Communication breaks down quite often. There's no set way, no direct communication with the schools, just the grapevine. At a meeting on Monday the principal said that they were going to be given tests and a teacher asked, 'Why, because Sonovy said they had to?' Asked if he knew about it before, because they felt he should have told them before if he did know, the principal took off about how teachers should be teaching. He doesn't really tell the teachers anything. He should send around notices.

Prevalent channels of communication and mechanisms of information exchange became noticeable in the comments of several teachers at the Webster Avenue School. In reference to formal and informal information channels we were told that there are lots of notices and great amounts of printed material. One teacher indicated that when she missed one of the few meetings, she got the information from the grapevine. A great deal of information is exchanged in the teachers' room. However, administrators, who frequent the same place with the same purpose, commented, "I don't really get the chance to get the inside dope. I don't know if it's planned that they are there or not . . . mostly just chatter goes on . . ."

Within the Webster School there were many positive comments suggesting communication and concensus. Most indicated that the school used teacher resources, ideas, and suggestions to great advantage. Many teachers suggested that although organizational changes had increased pressure on interpersonal relationships, "The teachers have a professional attitude to the kids. If somebody doesn't, everybody gangs up on him. This year they ganged up on two people, two sixth grade teachers were against some plans and the rest of the teachers told them off. Now they're very quiet. . . those teachers were very unprofessional. . ."

Evidence of information movement, speed, and accuracy came from the analysis of excerpted questions from the written questionnaire as well as from the interviews. Here we again refer to a four part summary of relevant questions reflecting: (1) contact with other organization members (quantitative); (2) indicators of communication

in reference to work; (3) suggestions indicating the desire for changes in the communication patterns of the district; and (4) qualitative contact with others in the school district.

(1) Quantitative Indicators of Contact With Others

Teachers and administrators at Webster were asked how much contact they enjoyed with others in the district. As in the interviews, we found the most consistent answer to be "very little." This response suggested an anomaly at first, since the climate at webster appeared more open than at the other schools within the district. We explained this variance within the district as being a function of Webster's unique level of schooling and its early separation from traditional instruction. However, it is equally clear that the school staff considers their school to be superior to Peters if only in facilities. In responding to a question pertaining to district expectation, the Webster staff indicated that they were satisfied; however, at the same time, they maintained that their ideas were given a great deal of consideration within the district but less within the school itself. From the data analysis, the research staff concluded that the Webster School most directly identified with the activities and goals of the central office. We sensed the strongest identifying area to be familiarity with Project Alter.

(2) Indicators of Communication in Reference to Work

Regarding sources of information and evaluation, the relationship of staff to students was the strongest at Webster. As mentioned consistently in the interviews, the students followed the staff grapevine as the most important source of district information. When asked how they knew if they were doing a good job, thirty-three percent of the teachers answered "student response." Later in the questionnaire the staff was asked how much help they received with job related problems. We were told

that they received a great amount. As in the case of the Paters School, this somewhat contradicts the responses of the interviewees. When we asked the teachers and administrators who they could depend upon to help them with the above--job related problems, 50% replied that their immediate supervisor would help. Since unit leader was a possible answer choice on this question, we assume that immediate supervisor relates to an administrator; thereby placing the Webster School faculty ambiguously close to the building administrators and contradictory to most responses in the interviews. The staff was asked to describe its working relationship with individuals within the school, the district, and with outsiders. Sixty-six percent replied that they enjoyed a "great deal of contact" within the school, "very little" in the district (although they were the highest of any unit), and "very little" contact with those outside the district. The Webster School staff also said that they were usually contacted about changes in their job. The greatest source of dislike about their job was related to non-teaching duties, especially paperwork. Finally, we asked the staff if their supervisors and those above their supervisors understood the technical problems faced in accomplishing tasks. The predominant response was that those above understood very well. This is likely, since the past principal of the school is now director of Project Alter. The general tone of response in this section was extremely positive in comparison with other sub-units. Especially obvious were responses concerning relationships with the central office in respect to innovation and change and its reference to goal concensus.

(3) Suggestions Indicating Desire for Enhanced Communication

As with the Paters School, we here investigated responses indicating a need for more effective communication between organization members. The staff at Webster, when asked what recommendations they would make in the accomplishment of school goals,

said "better communication between staff members (teachers and administrators)." This answer, as well as the "no response" alternative occurred in 22% of the responses. This was surprising considering Webster's reputation of model education. However, several of the interviewees suggested that structural changes and external social influences had altered the character of communication within the unit. One teacher commented, "There should be some way teachers can be better informed, I.R.F. has created a lot of bad feelings . . . a certain amount of plotting can be reduced. It keeps people uncertain." Again we emphasize the nature of uncertainty and resultant disequilibrium. In essence, there is an indication here of information void and uncertainty. Teachers and administrators were later asked to suggest changes for the district. Their response, as in Paters indicated the need for better or improved interpersonal relationships. In particular, the Webster faculty earmarked relations with administrators and the Board of Education.

(4) Qualitative Indicators of Contact With Other Individuals in the Organization

As a final area of investigation, the research staff studied the Webster Avenue response to questions seeking a qualitative description of communication. We first asked for staff perceptions of community sentiment toward the school. Most acknowledged in agreement with the information obtained in the interviews, that the community had a favorable image of the school. This positive community feeling was unique among the three schools here. Fifty-one percent of the Merriam staff said that they liked people in the district "a great deal," a de facto indication that contacts and communication are positive. This, we feel, contributes to the accuracy of information flow. When asked to rate how people in the school get along, 77% indicated that the staff was "very close"; this conflicts somewhat with earlier interviews. Webster was the strongest of the schools in favor of bringing problems to a person above a super-

visor (74%) rather than to a unit leader or other person. This response differs greatly from the Paters School and we feel it is related to the fact that most problems occurring in the school are of a "broker" nature. This means that a supervisor must act as intermediary between competing groups, unable to reach agreement on their own. The principal's job has become in part a negotiator. This contrasts directly with the opinion of a Webster School administrator; "Alter constrains the role of administrative decision-making and leadership, since it's now better organized and there's much more participatory decision-making." The Webster Avenue staff generally indicated that cooperation was quite good in the school, with many suggesting that it was "excellent." Friction and tension were sensed by only 29% of the staff, while the majority of the staff suggested that there was little tension within the school. District-wide the faculty saw limited friction, agreeing with the opinion of the High School but disagreeing with that of Paters. The staff agreed with the Paters School and the central office that most important decisions were made by the top administration while most also agreed that they felt "fairly free" to talk about problems with individuals above the immediate supervisor.

In summary, the following conclusions have become evident in reference to communication patterns in the Webster Avenue School: (1) more highly communicative with the central office because of closer concensus of goals, favoritism, and sub-unit pride cultivating confidence; (2) isolation from significant interaction with other school units because of leadership role background; (3) structural constraints to communication patterns traditionally maintained under single teacher/single classroom model; (4) expanded role of broker for administration in an instructional system designed to generate independent decision-making by teachers; (5) heavy reliance upon students as sources of information; (6) obvious inconsistency and variability of response to building administrators, innovation, and change; (7) administrator concensus on the

malicious effect of the negotiation process on effective communication within the school unit. We generally conclude that the faculty here projects the greatest independence from union declarations and is the most homogenous group within the district in terms of goal orientation and cooperation level. However, there are some indications that the building administration senses a deterioration of communication, both in speed and accuracy, because of new structures resulting in new alignments of self-interest. Finally, we note that the faculty of the Webster School, unlike Paters , depends upon individuals above immediate supervisors, (e.g. building and central office personnel), for remedial consultation concerning job and personal problems.

c. THE HIGH SCHOOL

The High School is not only the largest of the components but also the most complex, divided, and vocal in regard to communication channels and practices. Environmentally the High School has been an organization-wide issue in itself, symbolizing the deterioration of the traditional society yearned for by many of the organization's members. When the problems of discipline and curricular relevance are added to the school's current semi-isolation from Alter and GIC/UAS, the subgroup emerges as highly dichotomized and alienated from the other components of the organization. In effect, the High School has become the symbol of much that is painful and threatening in the organization's past and ominous to its future. In contrast, however, the High School interviews, exhibited a number of internal, positive, healthy indicators of communication. We herein discuss current patterns of communication and information exchange in the High School as described in the interviews and on questionnaires.

In previous descriptions we have emphasized the importance of the predominating

climate of the school in relation to the nature of communication both within the school itself and between it and other units. The atmosphere of the High School was appropriately summarized by one teacher as follows:

> Today's world is a changing society; a great deal of liberalism . . . traditionalism is gone. There's much permissiveness in the students and a philosophical change in the teachers. A psychological change has occurred in accord with physical changes. When the building was new all the heating pipes were concealed but they soon corroded and that gave the school a factory-like atmosphere, as if it were very mechanistic. This is a true feeling. The High School became a machine, not a place for compassion, sincerity, and learning. The general sense of pride in the school is lost.

Even though this individual and others in the organization noticed a "swing in the pendulum towards liberalism," many others, to the credit of the school, maintain that, "Inside, despite the problems there's a sense of pride and hope for next year. It's a good teaching staff willing to pitch in and help, not apathetic. The school turns gripes into constructive areas instead of bitching in the teachers' room. The community supports the school but R.I.F. and graduation problems have confused the community. The public is kind of viewing in the window now."

The variance contained in reactions such as these to the High School climate suggests the existence of a multi-faceted, highly vocalized, and independent communication system. During the interviews, staff members repeatedly noticed a higher level of complexity and articulation as compared to the other sub-units. While noting that the High School had monopolized a majority of the more emotional issues within the district, researchers found the High School interviews to be the most open, communicative, and constructive in nature. Below are illustrations typical of High School communication. Early in the interviewing phase, a teacher commenting on communication patterns in the High School recalled the dichotomization of faculty, establishing the initial working concept of low integration: "There are two factions, the academics and the non-academics. Those who teach English, math, and the sciences, those who work

with the college-bound versus the non-academics, the teachers in the vocational areas. The non-academics hang out in the janitor's room, not in the faculty room. The academics are cliqueish. The bowling club was basically academic versus non-academic."

Not only did we notice alienation between members on the basis of instruction but we also became aware that the High School climate virtually mandated teacher isolation:

> On the local level the community is not there that much. The teachers are not informed outside of teaching news. There are problems teachers need to know about, but the administration won't bring them up unless the teachers bring them up. According to the new principal there will be open communication in the High School . . . we're isolated here . . . on top of a greenhouse. I don't have the time to hear about all these things. I don't very often go to the teachers' coffee lounge. Maybe I'm better off not knowing . . .

Another teacher commented that when he first came to the High School (within the last four years): "Nobody bothered me and they left me alone. The idea initially pleased me that the High School tended to keep its nose out of things. This has turned to a bad impression in that aloofness on the part of the administration has led to a complete falling apart of discipline. The central office is becoming more involved in the lives of teachers in the school system. Now people aren't left alone . . ." This same person said that there was very little professional interaction in the school. Most teachers "operate in a relatively isolated fashion. There are few faculty meetings. Those that are held deal fundamentally with announcements and business issues, not instructional issues. I talk to my department head only when he comes and asks me for a lesson plan." Teachers consistently commented that department chairmen were inaccessible, further contributing to the sense of isolation within the school. Teachers indicated that department chairmen failed to give adequate note of teacher skills, often did little to help new teachers, and in only a few cases participated in required teacher evaluations.

The topic of teacher evaluations, a formal communication channel, was a central concern of many teachers. One teacher said:

> The books the department chairman gave me were inappropriate, I recognized this and got hysterical. The department chairman gave me the names of two other faculty members to call and ask for help. There was a great deal of confusion . . . I didn't get any help in dealing with the students. I went to the guidance office. The principal, vice-principal, and department chairman would come in and observe. I was observed five times in the first month I was here. Once I got some feedback. After three or four weeks I was a mess. Little by little other teachers helped, the kids came around, and things came together. The department chairman did try but didn't give the help I needed.

The same teacher, however, later said that she was pleased with the way things turned out for her; she was able to teach exactly what she wanted to by default. Another teacher commented, "I'm sort of evaluated by the principal who sort of pops in and then leaves. My department head doesn't evaluate at all." Another said,

> There's very little formal evaluation. You can never tell if there's an informal system you don't know about. Maybe they're listening in over the intercom in the classes . . . there's a paranoid feeling that the administration is looking for ways to get the teachers. They're left alone to do their own teaching. I've never heard of teachers being spoken to about the quality of their work. I'd like more supervision and reinforcement.

One other teacher told us: "The informal process of evaluation is more valuable. Teachers know which of their colleagues are competent, which are incompetent. Word gets around. Formally, the teacher observations system is not much help in the evaluation. The principal is in the habit of coming into a class, sitting down for one minute, and walking out. Not much is done in the way of follow-up. I've only had one observation in the last two years."

Sources of information in the High School paralleled our findings in the other school units in the district. The faculty room and the kids were the predominant choices of the staff members. Other than these, there are some formal channels in existence. Assemblies, special programs, and memos were common responses. Many

individuals in the school, however, said that formal contact was lacking. We were told that administrators should give more attention to teacher discussion and advice-giving. "Much information should be given by administrators; the teachers need encouragement . . .," was one such comment. Administrator contact and communication with the teaching staff was further affected by "a serious division of opinion on the superintendent. Many people think he lied to them about I.R.F.. . some think he's a fake, then others think he did what he had to do."

An administrator at the High School referred to communications with the Superintendent as "having a great deal of freedom. But we always try to communicate with him as much as possible. He tries to stay in touch with our feelings. There are meetings, personnel get together on Thursdays, and problems are discussed weekly." The excerpted comments from interviews with High School staff members illustrate several important characteristics of the communication within this sub-unit:

1. As in the other sub-groups, the circumstances of school climate affects the flow of communication in the unit and the level of interpersonal integration. We noted that teachers did not hesitate to discuss the isolation commonly shared with regard to (a) course content, (b) indoctrination, (c) accessibility and utility of department chairmen and administration, and (d) evaluation of performance (deemed most desirable by most staff members). Isolation, in contradiction, was seen by many teachers as a functional situation in which teachers were permitted great freedom in teaching style and content.

2. There exists a conflict of opinion as to whether the school makes good use of teacher skills and input. Some teachers suggest that the administration is too busy to listen and that the skills are not utilized, while others say that administrative neglect has created opportunities for teacher freedom. While the first group maintains that there is little interest in improving the school, the latter suggests

that improvement occurs because of supervisory neglect.

3. Communication channels are largely pre-empted and unutilized in the High School until there are issues, such as IRF, necessitating cohesive action. Normal operational and maintenance communication in the High School is low, as the classroom structure of teaching nurtures isolation.

In the other two schools where the GIC/UAS structure prevails, daily contact, communication, and cooperation are essential to the accomplishment of learning unit objectives. In the High School we found the isolated climate, consistently referred to in interviews, inhibited communication. The organization was not adversely affected by the climate, since work flow and interdependence exist at a minimum and only in departmental matters.

4. Communication in the High School is a peripheral activity second to one's own teaching. This has resulted in low integration, internalization of goals, and a sense that each must make it on his own in the sub-unit. The cohesive influence of school structure and the interdependence common to other schools has not developed in the High School where the difference in status has resulted in disinterest in the activities of the other teachers.

5. Analysis of communication and information channeling reveal few cohesive and fundamental patterns in the High School. This school has become the vortex and recipient of most district problems and has thus suspended normal operations, giving way to strained relationships between individuals. The interviews suggested tremendous variance of opinion, dichotomization of the staff, isolation and alienation between staff and the outside world, and low integration and interdependence in work flow.

Responses to the questionnaire from staff members paralleled comments recorded during interviews, but added a dynamic, identifiable, and more positive tone to the

analysis of information systems. Again we discuss each of the four categories of information pattern indicators.

(1) Quantitative Indicators of Contact Within the School:

Little was said in the interviews about how the staff related to central office expectations. On the questionnaire the High School faculty was asked to evaluate the district expectations; 38.5% felt that the district failed to make expectations clear while 36.5% indicated that expectations were appropriate. The dichotomization determined from interview analysis is vividly represented in this response, which also suggests central office aloofness from school concerns. When asked if the staff had much opportunity for visiting others in the district, we were told that the High School has the least opportunity for such activity. This parallels staff comments on the degree of isolation of the High School within the district. There was also great variance in terms of how many friends staff members had in the school. Most of those who said they had ten or more friends and most of those who said they had "few friends" were in the High School. Twenty-three percent of the staff in the High School said that their ideas were given "little consideration," while 48% said "somewhat," 28% said "a great deal," and 59% said that their ideas were "somewhat" considered by the central office. Again we note the dispersal of response in this unit. When asked how fair the school would be in the event of conflicts, most (75%) of those who answered "very little" were at the High School. If there were serious personal problems that interfered with the job, individuals in the High School were again widely split; 28% said "a great deal"; 51% "some"; and 17% "very little."

(2) Indicators of Communication in Reference to Work:

Staff members said that student response was the most important factor in evaluating a good or a bad teaching job. This largely confirms the interviews, which suggested little communication with administration on the topic of evaluation. When asked how much help they could expect in working out job-related problems, the faculty

reaffirmed our notion of isolation by saying that they could expect very little (44%). We then asked who might help with these problems and they responded "the unit leader or department chairman," which contradicts the response in the interviews. We asked the staff a series of questions probing contact and communication with people in their own school, in other schools in the district, and with people in schools outside of the district. In evaluating their responses, we found 48% said a "fair amount," 23% said "very little contact" in the school, 50% said "very little" in the district, and 42% said "very little" outside of the district. Again we note the ubiquity of isolation in the High School. When we asked how often staff members are contacted about changes in their jobs 36% said "seldom," 32% said "usually," and 17% said "never." The response indicated little contact or communication of changing expectations. It further suggests the tremendous variability of interpersonal relationships existing concurrently in an organizational setting suffering from disorganization. We finally asked the faculty if their superiors understood the technical problems the faculty faced in doing their jobs. Thirty-four percent replied that "those above understand" and 34% commented that "those above did not." The discrepancy of opinion and lack of concensus is again clearly suggested.

(3) Suggestions Indicating the Desire for Enhanced Communication:

The staff felt that discipline was the most important suggestion they could make to their unit for goal accomplishment. Communication was not included as a second choice, since the greatest response was "no recommendation." When asked for recommendations for the district in the achievement of its goals, "student discipline" was again a primary recommendation and "improved communication" ranked second. In addition, 80% of those in the district who suggested "staff" discipline as a problem were in the High School. The implication here is that issues elicit changes in communication pattern effectiveness. Information transmission systems remain dormant in

the High School and people remain isolated until an issue of common importance (one affecting the accomplishment of individual tasks) induces cohesive response.

(4) Qualitative Indicators of Contact in the Unit and Within the District:

We first asked the faculty how the community felt about the school, expecting a negative response in light of interview experiences. We were surprised at the neutral answer; 50% indicating "neither friendly nor unfriendly." Over 30% of the staff then maintained that the community was "unfriendly," while, at the opposite end of the spectrum, we found that just over 15% felt the community to be "friendly" toward the school. In addition, most of those (90%) who "didn't know" how the community felt were in the High School. Contrary to our emphasis on isolation in the High School, we found that 61% of the staff likes the people they work with. We were expecting a more neutral response considering the relative independence of classroom teachers. This response inferentially suggests that communication must exist rather consistently and regularly; enough so that opinions can develop with such a high degree of concensus. In hope of replicating this trend we asked the faculty to rate the way in which people got along in the school. Fifty-seven percent said that people were "quite friendly," an appraisal which reinforced the positive, constructive atmosphere we suggested earlier.

It was discovered during the interviewing phase of the data gathering that the High School was the center of Teachers' Association support and that in the other school units the Teachers' Association failed to represent majority views. The questionnaire responses supported this contention. Seventeen percent of the High School faculty suggested that the Teachers' Association would help solve problems or rectify teacher gripes. We consider this to be a strong response, even though the majority of the teachers said they would bring problems to their supervisor. While this res-

pose confirms what the staff said concerning job-related problems, it contradicts information obtained from the interviews which suggested that teachers were isolated from administrators. Half of the staff rated the cooperation it received in the High School as "good." We consider this a high evaluation considering the consistent statements in the interviews describing isolation from the administrators.

Tension and friction levels were reported by the staff on the questionnaire in relation to the High School and to the district. In the High School, 48% of the staff said there was "a fair amount" of tension and 38% said there was "very little." This response places the High School below the Paters School in perceived tension even though the High School is the acknowledged center of discontent in the district. From these responses we suggest it is reasonable to maintain that the conflict level perceived by organizational members outside the High School is largely unrealistic, and that the level of conflict and dissonance within the High School is lower than it appears. We feel this situation is related to the opportunities for escape within the High School organization structure. Teachers can function for sustained periods of time with limited contact with others if and when the climate becomes uncomfortable or they can integrate whenever they feel the need to do so. Communication machinery, mostly informal and by word of mouth, remains dormant, but it can be easily mobilized into use at time of threat. We assume that this response, evaluating the tension level in the district, indicates either that people are so isolated they fail to comprehend system-wide tensions or that the rest of the organization is unrealistically inflating the level of tension and friction. We conclude that the latter explanation merits more consideration.

When the faculty was asked who made the most important decisions in the district, 51% responded that the top administrators do; in support of our isolation emphasis, 26% were unable to give an answer. The responses of the High School staff varied greatly when asked if they would feel free to talk about problems with a person above

their supervisor: 30.8% said they would feel "fairly free," 28.8% said "not very free," and 23.1% said they wouldn't feel "free at all." When asked the same question in regard to their supervisor, the staff responded in approximately the same distribution. Finally, we asked exactly how the staff learned what was going on in the district. Over 80% said "the grapevine," rather than formal channels linked with the administration, provided them with the necessary information. We again propose that communication channels are informal, largely dormant, but readily accessible by a purely unconscious mobilization maneuver when stimulated by an issue affecting the accomplishment of individual tasks in the organizational sub-unit.

The analysis of the communication systems and information patterns in the High School suggests the following: (1) Members of the High School organization have a more realistic view of the nature of conflict within the High School; and the alteration of this view in the remainder of the organization is largely a function of High School isolation. This isolation is related to:

(a) the unique classroom/ curriculum structure of the High School

(b) the identification of the High School as the source and, concurrently, the scapegoat of contemporary organization problems

(c) the inaccessibility and ineffectiveness of building administration and supervisors in establishing viable two-way communication in the High School

(2) Communication through formal channels has become ineffective because of the lack of speed and accuracy with which information reaches the High School. The source of this perceived manipulation is clearly the central office, specifically the superintendent. (3) Ineffective formal channels has necessitated the establishment of grapevine techniques, which appear to be quite accurate when the originating source is students or peers but become distorted with community or immediate supervisory input. (4) These informal channels are largely dormant and only utilized when issues of wide importance require cohesive action. (5) Issues that mobilize informal communication channels are those which affect the completion of individual tasks by class-

room or curriculum-isolated members of the sub-group.

Issues such as Project Alter mobilize communication systems, occasionally resulting in over-reaction. Thus the High School is perceived by many in the central office and the community as the center of teacher activism, further enhancing its reputation. The predominance of independent action in the accomplishment of tasks has depreciated the effectiveness of communication systems; disuse leads to linkage breaks with concommitant reduction in speed and accuracy and the creation of credibility gaps. Equally important, the disuse of information channels deteriorates concensus, resulting in extreme variance of opinion within the school unit. Consistent and noticeable variance of concensus can result in an internal reality gap much the same as that noted in the organization as a whole. Reality gaps do not imply an absolute and undeniable reality of a particular situation. Instead they suggest the lack of a majority concensus on any state of perceived reality. This means that when people join organizations they are motivated by a perceived majority concensus (organizational goal) with which they can relate. When such a concensus becomes disparate, as exemplified repeatedly in the interview and questionnaire analysis, individuals see a discrepancy between the traditional reality or concensus and the disparate situation of present. This in turn causes individuals to no longer relate to organizational goals (e.g. the traditional concensus), but instead to isolate themselves in tasks that accomplish sub-organizational goals (e.g. teaching history). This is in fact what had happened in the High School.

External and internal changes in school climate have produced severe problems, which remain unsolved by an ineffective administration. The concensus of the school as to the reality of its existence has become displaced in the course of internal change. Individuals have noticed this displacement and the consequent reality gap. Their reaction has been isolation, an isolation that staff members had disliked in

earlier times. Retrenching to a state of isolation, which has been overgeneralized here for the sake of example, caused the dismemberment of the communication system, the prime mechanism for organizational reaction and adaptation to change. We assume that because the school staff expressed a positive orientation in their hopes for the future the communication mechanisms can be mobilized to deal with severe threat. We are skeptical of the length of time that this situation can exist without permanent damage to the speed and accuracy dynamic of the High School information system.

d. THE CENTRAL OFFICE

Structurally the central office includes, at one administrative level, the superintendent, and assistant superintendents for business, special service, and research planning and evaluation. There are also several inter-school specialists in learning disabilities, social work, and child psychology. Although the central office is a bi-level organizational sub-unit, which distinguishes between those members whose work tasks are accomplished in the field as opposed to those who work primarily from the central office environs, the unit is characterized by high integration, goal concensus, and indefatigueable loyalty to the dominant figure, the superintendent. It would be misleading, however, to suggest that the central office is a cohesive unit, since many of those who have been identified as members of this unit see themselves as members of other sub-units at the same time. We feel justified in recognizing the central office as a fourth unit of communication system analysis: (1) because of the inter-organizational nature of the functions these individuals perform; (2) because of the prevalence of the "management" bias among members of the central office; (3) and, most importantly, because of the common affection and defense of the superintendent. It is primarily a function of "point of view" that separates this group of individuals from the remainder of the organization.

Although building principals comply to these categories they function only within the limits of a single sub-unit. Consistent with our analysis of communication patterns of other organizational components, we will first look at the content of personal interviews and then at selected questions from the written questionnaire.

In many of the interviews conducted with intra-school staff members the common feeling emerged that the supervisors and administration members were distant and inaccessible. In the central office we found administrative availability to be uncommonly high. Central office staff consistently commented that access to the Superintendent, the central authority and supervisory figure, was fluent and constructive. From this circumstance, we assumed high integration and high communication. Interviews with central office members confirmed our observations. One person told us: Wilms will compliment me. Wilms is very demanding but there's no b.s. He'll spotcheck and push you. Wilms will support and push behind you." A specialist in the central office commented that the superintendent had encouraged him from the time he left college to come back and work in Kepler. Upon taking a job in the district, "The help, the orientation, I received came almost exclusively from Wilms." The same individual commented further, "My immediate supervisor is the assistant superintendent for special services, who I feel very highly towards, as well as Wilms, who I think is very good . . . informally I get feedback from the assistant superintendent and Wilms . . . the central administration, Wilms, is very receptive to ideas. If the individual presents them, he'll listen." When asked to personify the district, the same interviewee said: "I guess it's Dr. Wilms, it's like him, if I were to pick a person it would be him. It has the same set of attributes that Wilms has; dynamic, strong, innovative and open and fluent . . ."

Informal channels of communication were understood by most central office personnel to predominate in transmission of information within and outside of the sub-

group. One specialist linked to the central office said: "The informal access is greatly relied upon to find out. There is formal information from the superintendent's office, from the Board a constant flow of memos. There's a great deal of flow evident from looking at my bulletin board." The same individual also described central office mechanisms for tapping local sentiments: "It (the central office) tries to survey the community's values. This was done by sending out questionnaires last year, listing the needs and priorities of the community. As a result they were able to rank order the assets of education in the order they were valued by the community. There are frequent meetings with parents and community leaders and teachers." An interesting counterpoint to these comments came from a teacher in the High School who said: "The system hasn't made efforts to give information to the community or to get it from them. The Teachers' Association was responsible for whatever interaction occurs. It (the central office) has poor relations with the community . . ." The issue of communications within the central office was struck by another member of the group who commented: "I'm always the last one to know . . . informally I don't know much of anything. Teachers come last as a source of information. I've isolated myself . . . I don't have much contact with teachers in the system and don't consider them to be my immediate co-workers. I read school publications and bulletins . . ." In contrasts, a specialist in close contact with school settings told us: "The teachers' room is where I hear about problem children. I can pick out views from different teachers. It's not difficult to find out because I don't have a direct line in policy decisions." We underscore the last comment as a factor inhibiting speedy and accurate information flow from other sectors of the organization. We recall at this time our previous comment that during interviews many teachers and community members suggested hidden agenda lay behind many of the policy decisions recently promulgated from the central office, specifically Project Alter.

Initial commentary on information and communication patterns in the central office included the suggestion that personnel were distinguishable from other organization members because of a unique organizational point of view. Although imprecise in definition we feel this point of view can be described in part as cosmopolitan, long range in scope and interest, and sophisticated. The superintendent related to this point during an interview:

> Today Kepler is a completely involved school system. There is not much opportunity, even if there is the desire that one can escape involvement. Nearly everything we do is in teams [that] respond to clearly identified goals and objectives--the community, Board, professional management, staff, and the mix of those elements, in response to what one child in that program needs. That's a completely different world from what we were talking about originally. Then people isolated themselves, went into classes, and closed the doors. What was happening there nobody really knew, nobody really cared. Today everybody cares. And it is certainly not right to say that everybody knows, but everybody can know. The objectives are clearly stated and available to anyone who cares to see it.

As we have stressed consistently throughout this study, individuals in the organization who must operationalize these objectives and goals find them unclear (in cases such as Project Alter and GIC/UAS) and impinging, if not threatening, to the traditional practice and operation of education at the local level. This division within the district between long-range and system-wide policy and local efforts to accomplish basic tasks, such as achievement of basic educational skills, presents an organizational dilemma of "point of view" and concensus. An administrator made this comment:

> Rules should be more systematic. Alter constrains the role of administrative decision-making and leadership since now it's better organized and there's much more participatory decision-making. They go through more procedures. I have more chance to use leadership skills. At the district, they have to relate to all other schools and deal with more generalized objectives and programs, so the individual schools can't have as much freedom. They have to get together. The program is district-wide so this requires people in different

> schools to come together. All goals apply to all schools equally. The teachers decide the individual specifications and each of the procedures in each of the individual schools. Some are aware and others do not like the role because it requires more work. Competition has been decreased between schools. There has to be more cooperation.

Viable communication patterns preclude the development of concensus, organizational unity, and meaningful dissemination of "point of view" throughout the organization. While we note strong agreement, fluent interaction, and homogeneity of attitude within the central office staff, we also suggest that "point of view" and localism have not been communicated effectively between organizational components. We feel this situation is largely a function of local versus cosmopolitan orientation maintained by different members of the organization, of organizational goals, and of the inability of the organization to distinguish with high concensus between threat and opportunity. We point again to Project Alter, GIC/UAS, community activism, and the like as points of departure.

Interviews conducted with members of the central staff suggested in a cursory manner characteristics of communication within the central office and with other components of the organization. We next look at response from the central staff on the written questionnaire for other significant indications of communication on information transmission. The central office staff sample included eleven individuals: a superintendent, two assistant superintendents, three specialists, and five support staff personnel including teacher aides. This represents approximately 75% of the professional inter-school and central administration staff.

(1) Quantitative Indications of Contact Within the Central Office

As expected, members of the central office indicated that expectations from the district were acceptable, since many of those questioned were the same people who set expectations through district policy. However, when we asked how much contact

central office staff has with other people in the district, 36% said there was only "a fair amount." We feel that this is important because the level of contact with organization members reflects accurate and meaningful communication between the two levels. Information transmission, more specifically feedback from the local setting, should influence policy determination. Low levels of contact with organizational sub-groups must then affect the accuracy and speed of feedback and ultimately the quality and appropriateness of district policy in relation to local conditions and sentiments. We then investigated the level of consideration given to the central office staff ideas by top administration; we were told that their ideas were "somewhat considered" by 54.4% This response varies considerably from the content of interviews conducted with this group and adds support to our contention that even within the central office, which we assumed to orbit around the superintendent, policy determination emerged unilaterally. On the other hand, interview comments indicating top management accessibility were supported by questionnaire responses, and over 70% of the staff indicated that a "great deal of fairness" would be shown in the event of serious personal problems interfering with work.

(2) Indications of Communication in Reference to Work

In the absence of student contact, central office personnel indicated that administrative response was important in the evaluation of job performance, while self-evaluation, common in other units, was considered important only by one staff member. Considering the close attachment of central office personnel to the superintendent and other top administrators, this response seems consistent. However, we expected more people to self-evaluate considering the decentralization of task and job locations. Considerable attachment to immediate supervisors in the central office was also recorded when staff members said top administrators provided a great deal of help with problems related to the job. We also asked the sub-groups about levels of

contact they had with others in the district in regard to their jobs. We were told that job contact within the central office was extremely high (72%), that job contact with other units was both high (36.4%) and low (36.4%), and that contact with people in school districts outside of the organization was also high (27.3%). More importantly, 35.4% said contact was non-existent outside the district. This response we found rather inconsistent with comments from central office staff and teachers that top administration kept close contact with current developments in educational innovation in other districts. While misinterpretation of the term "others" on the questionnaire might account for this variance, we suggest as an alternative that contact with other districts is an instructional exercise rather than a learning exercise for top administrators. When staff members were asked whether they liked the people they worked with in the district, 63.6% responded "a great deal" and 27.3% responded "rather well." When asked to evaluate how people got along with each other where they worked, 54.5% said people were "quite friendly." Everyone in the central office said they wanted closer working relations. Further support of positive relationships and, by implication, contact and communication, can be derived from responses indicating how much contact individuals in the central office enjoyed in reference to changes in job expectations and duties. We found that over 45% of the people in the central office were always contacted and 45% were usually contacted. Similarly, 54% said that their supervisors understood the problems they faced in their jobs. When asked what they disliked about their job, 45% responded that nothing was disturbing about their jobs. These responses support our initial emphasis on the high integration characteristic of the central office, close attachment of central office personnel to top administration, and most importantly, the characteristic low integration of the central office in relation to the other components of the organization.

(3) Suggestions Indicating the Desire for Enhanced Communication

As with other units in the organization, we asked the central office staff to make recommendations that would help to accomplish organizational goals. Over 45% of the personnel in the central office had no recommendations for the work unit, and 27% (the largest percentage answer) had no recommendations for the district in the accomplishment of its goals. Providing better communication, common in other units, was not a concern of central office personnel.

(4) Qualitative Contact with Others in the Central Office and Organization as a Whole

We first asked the staff how the community felt about the central administration. We expected some variance of response in light of current community activism over recent policy issues; however, 81.8% assumed the community to be very friendly toward the central office. The inconsistency of this response in relation to comments made by other organizational members may be seen as a denial of guilt attributed to unpopular policies or merely as the consequence of isolation from contact at the local level. Alternatively, the variance could be a reaction to what are perceived as unjustified attacks against the "leader" by the uninformed community. However these conclusions are speculative and unsupported by current evidence, even though they seem to mesh with the history of organizational life. Attachment to the "leader" was evident in the central office when 54% of the staff indicated they would rely directly upon the individual above their supervisor for help with complaints or gripes. This was consistent with the interview content. Furthermore, when asked to evaluate cooperation in the central office, 54% said cooperation was "excellent" and 36.4% said "good." Such responses indicate staff solidarity.

In our opinion, levels of tension and friction within organizations are related to levels of constructive communication and, thus, to the resolution of conflict. In the central office, over 70% said there was "very little" tension and friction and, within the district as a whole, 72.8% perceived very little or no tension and fric-

tion. This perception, based upon the consistency of responses in the other units, underlines our observation that the central office staff either has little awareness of local conditions or refuses to acknowledge tensions resulting from central office initiated policies. This reality gap is a detriment to current organizational functions and precludes accurate and meaningful communication reception and processing by central office personnel.

Consistent with other components of the organization, 45.5% of the central office personnel said that they learned what was going on in their office from fellow workers. Also consistent with previous observations by research staff members was the inclination of the central office staff to rely on top administrators for information. Only 27% suggested this source, although we expected a higher reliance on top administration in light of interviews suggesting high intra-organizational integration. This latter observation was supported by personnel response to the question relating to the degree of freedom in talking about problems with supervisors; 93% felt "very free" to do so, and over 63% felt "very free" to talk over problems with individuals over their supervisor, the superintendent. Responses to questions eliciting qualitative judgments about contacts within the central office indicate a high degree of intra-organizational unity but questionable reality orientation with other components of the organization.

Analysis of the communication characteristics of the central office generated the following assessments of current information transmission and utilization:

(1) Within the central office there is a high level of accessibility to top administration resulting in a highly integrated sub-unit, especially in concensus and loyalty to the superintendent and top administrators.

(2) While the central office exhibited high internal integration, the analysis suggests that integration is low between the central office and the other components of the organization.

(3) Low integration is partly a function of "point of view" and lack of concensus

on organizational goals, discontinuity between central office policy (cosmopolitan in nature), and local operations.

(4) Low integration has furthermore resulted in:

a. The development of a reality gap within the central office in relation to public opinion tolerance of the uninformed, including some of the teaching staff.

b. A reduction in the accuracy and meaningfulness of information received and generated by the central office.

High internal integration, while suggesting effective utilization of intra-organizational inputs, has not led to broad-based policy determination. Policy is made unilaterally with less input than suggested by the interviews. When asked who makes the most important decisions in the district, the central office staff suggested both supervisory staff and top administration rather than multilateral interaction.

(5) Current communication patterns between central office and local settings are detriments to effective organizational functioning, concensus generation, and goal clarification.

Continued low integrative relationships within the organization are sustained by reality gaps and "point of view" intolerance. These factors preclude accurate and meaningful communication and thus limit the effectiveness of communication as a mechanism of adaptation to internal and external threat.

e. The Community and the Outside World

The external environment is a source of both threat and opportunity for the organization. In the accomplishment of goals, an organization depends upon the external world for important resources. One critical resource is that of salient and accurate information through which the organization adjusts to change. Information received by an organization can be interpreted either as an opportunity for more efficient and effective goal accomplishment or as a threat to achievement. For this reason, the relationship of the organization to incoming information reflects the level

of organizational effectiveness in achieving goals in light of change in the external and internal environments. Through interviews with organizational members and members of the outside world, patterns of information handling and use emerge.

The predominant sources of external information for the organization are: (1) research from educational institutions; (2) current programs in other districts paralleling efforts in Newton; (3) the New Jersey Teachers' Association; (4) feedback from community members through formal channels, (questionnaires initiated by the school district), and informal channels, (for example, the grapevine and PTA meetings); (5) new members entering the organization; and (6) social trends emanating from the outside world at large, but not directly related to educational issues, such as liberalism.

The response of the organization to these types of information and, specifically, the organization's ability to discriminate between threat and opportunity is the subject of this concluding section on communication systems in Kepler.

As we have emphasized consistently throughout this study, Kepler is a community emerging from quiet traditionalism into modernism. We do not suggest that Newton has come of age in the past few years. Instead, the reprecussion of current trends, specifically liberalism and innovation in education, have begun to surface, taking the community by surprise and exposing traditional life to new pressures. The school district, top management to be precise, has been largely responsible for the introduction of change in the community. Through the educational system, the foundations of traditionalism have been manipulated in the cause of progress and preparation of future generations from the rigors of modern life outside of the community. GIC/UAS and Project Alter, with its data base information system, are seen as threats to the stability of community life long enjoyed by the membership. These changes have come from current experimentation in other districts and from trends within the university

community. The rationale behind the school district's movement into contemporary educational currents has been a protective measure. We feel that top administration, accurately sensing state-wide trends toward educational accountability, thorough and efficient education, and GIC, have attempted to internalize these changes before they become mandates from outside of the organization. Internalizing change as a local community effort should, utilizing the same rationale, reduce the disruptive influence and threat of external force toward change.

External influences thwarting long-range planning for thorough and efficient education has come from the New Salem Eduational Association. Perceived by teachers as an opportunity to support their resistance to the Project Alter, the NSIC has become an important source of information and overt influence against central administration implementation. Central office personnel and, more importantly, the community view the intrusion of the NSIC as a threat to local autonomy and self-rule. In effect this source of informational propaganda has been debilitating to the organization. It has split the system into two camps; one perceiving the influence as opportunity and the other seeing the NSIC as a threat. The latter group is divided into three subgroups: (1) the community who identifies the NSIC as responsible for teacher unrest in an otherwise complacent society, (2) the Board of Education, who sees the influence inhibiting negotiations between central office, community, and itself; and (3) the central office, who sees the NSIC as a thorn in its attempt to safeguard the organization from the demise of state-mandated thorough and efficienct education.

Information is also generated from external sources through questionnaires originating within the central office. Largely connected with Project Alter, these instruments have been designed to tap community sentiments on issues of goal priorities. Through these efforts the central office staff has ranked community goals and inte-

grated them into the framework of cyclical planning for the organization. The accuracy and salience of this information has been critical to the development of locally initiated accountability in Kepler however, the perceived "hidden agenda" of the project has affected the utility and timing of these efforts.

New members entering the organization as transients and permanents also have contributed to the information base of the organization. The previously mentioned individuals (including members of this research group) have brought new input to the organization for evaluation of current organization effectiveness. This intervention has had its most important influence in the area of teacher awareness of accountability. In our opinion, new permanent members have had little affect on the organization. New management has not been a common occurence in the organization. Instead, traditional members have been sent outside of the organization to gain information relevant to the continued accomplishment and reevaluation of organization goals. From our analysis of the questionnaire, we conclude that this influence has been concentrated in two or three key personnel in the central office, while contact with the professional world at the local setting has been minimal (other than through the NSIC). Again the introduction of new individuals to the organization has received mixed reaction from the organization. The teachers have interpreted research personnel presence in the system as a threat, a tool of the central office, although to our understanding this resistance has been minimized. The Board and the community, we feel, is largely unaware of our presence, while the central administration has welcomed our research efforts as supportive of their efforts for change in Kepler.

In summary, information received by the organization from outside sources has been perceived as both a threat and an opportunity by different organizational groups. Resolving this discrepancy, as we have suggested before, precludes effective organizational functioning. We suggest that the interpretive processes inherent in dif-

ferent subgroups and manifested in their point of view prevents concensus building in the organization and is a continuing source of organizational conflict.

2. Current Reports Within and to the Organization

Within the past year the organization has contracted for the documentation of the effects of Project Alter on the organization, specifically on learning. The product of these efforts is three evaluation reports made available to the research staff by the assistant superintendent for research, planning, and evaluation, who, in addition, serves as the Project Alter director. The first document is a study of "Perceptions of Project Alter Reported by Kepler Public School Teachers" contracted and submitted by Dr. Claude E. Lawson. The perceptions of teachers in regard to Project Alter were culled from responses to a questionnaire administered to a 40% sample of Newton teachers in June of 1975. Of interest to the researcher was determining if there was any "significant difference in the opinions of teachers in the three local schools as a result of their experiences with Project Alter." To this question the researcher concluded:

a. There is a high degree of agreement among teachers in the three schools on the matters covered by the opinionnaire.
b. The number of no-opinion or no-response tallies suggests that the program has not yet affected all teachers. This is to be expected in the developing stages of a program such as this.
c. The general tone of response is supportive and forward looking to greater achievements. The goals and objectives of Project Alter appear to have general teacher support in the school district.

In a second survey conducted by the same researcher the opinions of parents, teachers, and students regarding school goals was studied. The data collection instrument was an opinionnaire administered to samples of these groups. Comparison was made

to data collected during the 1972-1973 school year. Rank order analysis and concordance analysis was made of the two sets of data in order to illustrate the degree of agreement on goals within the organization and in relation to the community (parents). The analysis suggested:

a. The closest degree of agreement was found between parents and teachers in the 1972-1973 data; the least agreement was found between teachers and students.

b. In Table Five, the researcher shows the coefficient of concordance analysis among all three groups. The conclusion is "the degree of agreement in the several sets considered (1972-1973 data) must be regarded as being high and quite close in value." Other tables presented suggest to the reader that agreement was high among the three groups in both 1972-1973 data and 1975 data at the Webster and Paters Schools. No other conclusions were offered by the researcher other than those suggested above.

A final analysis, again conducted by Dr. Lawson, studied the "Effect of Project Alter on Student Achievement." In the introduction to the study the author notes that Project Alter was designed to "alter output characteristics of the school district by means of changes in input factors." The study suggests these inputs are at the organizational and process levels. Organizational changes applied to the GIC/UAS implementation, while process changes referred to the "development of a Goal Setting System, a Program Budget System, a Decision-Making System based on objectives, and a Management Information System." The project, the author continues, "is designed to impact, chiefly on two output areas. The first is student achievement. It is intended to produce a thorough and efficient education for children at grade levels K - 12. The second is teachers' personal satisfaction and professional growth." In attempting to evaluate the effect of Project Alter on student achievement, two Project Alter programs were chosen for analysis: elementary mathematics and Algebra 1 in the High School. Of specific interest was, "Does Project Alter make any signifi-

cant difference in student achievement in the first year course of Algebra 1 . . . in elementary mathematics in grades three through six?" Analysis by means of t-tests, variance, and covariance were made on data collected before the implementation of curriculum change under Project Alter (1972) and after the implementation of Alter in the two mathematics programs (1975). In summarizing the results of the analysis the authors conclude:

a. "Two programs of the Kepler Public Schools have been studied and the results reported above. They are the secondary course in Algebra I and the elementary mathematics course for grades three through eight. The results of both studies reveal that significant improvements have occured in the Kepler Public Schools as a result of Project Alter."

b. "These two programs may be regarded as samples of curriculum areas. It may be hypothesized that similar output will occur in other curriculum areas. The important input changes occasioned by Project Alter are the changes in organization and in process."

c. "There is evidence to believe that Project Alter provides a model which will produce an effective and efficient use of resources to produce a thorough and efficient education. As such, it deserves close attention from those who bear the constitutional charge to provide such an education for the children of New Salem."

III. INTERPRETATIVE DATA

A. Current Organizational Functioning

1. Organizational Perceptions

In the course of this case study we have attempted to describe the environment within which the organization functions. To this end, we have characterized demographic facts of the organization, the historical life of the organization, and struc-

tural data and processes functioning to integrate the components of the organization with the outside world. We now turn to an interpretative analysis of the organization's life; the way it perceives the world around it, what it thinks and feels, and how it behaves are the topics of interest here.

The organization is a living organism constructed of highly integrated symbiotic components functioning together as a whole for the purpose of survival within its environment. During the course of its life the organization is exposed to constant change to which it must adapt, defend, or succumb. Longevity thus depends upon constant nourishment and the processing and consumption of resources, both quantitative and qualitative. Qualitative consumption suggests the organization's propensity for discriminating between healthy and malicious resources. One process critical to this organic activity is the development and sustainment of accurate perceptions of itself and of the outside world. Organizational perception is the aggregate view the organization has of itself and of the external environment. Perceptions similar to "construct reality" provide the organization with processes for adequately discriminating between resources, threats, opportunities, and goals. Perceptions dissimilar to "construct reality" reduce the organization's discriminating power and result in inappropriate reaction to the external environment.

On an organizational perception continuum Kepler gravitates between both extremes. Component parts of the organization, at different times, perceive both the external and internal environment unrealistically, as we have emphasized throughout the case study.

a. Degree of Alertness, Accuracy, and Vividness

The organization does not perceive its environment with system-wide uniformity. The central office, the community, and the individual units have at various times perceived external stimuli in variance with reality. Change, the denominator of threat

and opportunity, is seen by members of the organization with different degrees of alertness, accuracy, and vividness. The central office is the most alert component of the organization to external stimuli and perceives the outside world with greatest accuracy with specific reference to Kepler's movement into statewide thorough and efficient education. The community has recently become more alert to the environment, but it has reacted more vividly to internal conditions than to outside influences. This, of course, is related to the community's local "point of view." The individual schools are less alert to the outside environment and concern themselves with task-oriented activities largely isolated from the long-range interests of the central office. The two elementary schools accurately perceive the difference in school environments. This is illustrated by the comments of staff in both schools: "The other (Webster) is newer and more innovative, more upper class students than Paters. There's more of a personality match between the superintendent and the principal of the other school. There's a lot of rivalry with the other school. Halsted is in a poorer section of town . . . Paters is the stepchild, the other school is favored."

The school units are vividly aware of new conditions affecting the accomplishment of tasks, primarily in the education of children. In terms of sub-unit goals, the school units accurately perceive central office policies as changing the operations of traditionally autonomous and individual schools. Within the internal environment the components of the organization inadequately perceive the concerns of the other units. The central office is concerned with system-level issues but fails to incorporate local needs into policy determination. We have seen this clearly in the R.I.F. controversy and in the Project Alter debate. Local sub-groups have also failed to perceive the needs and interests of the community and of the central board. As one teacher noted, they "can't see what it means to be a manager." The community

perceptions of the internal environment show an inadequate understanding of the concerns of the components of the sub-group. Community interests center around details of organizational problems, especially discipline in the High School and fail to perceive the external threats to local autonomy vividly noted by the central staff. Thus, it is our feeling that the organizational perception as a system concept does not exist in Newton. Instead, the organization has become dichotomized into sub-groups perceiving both the external and internal environment biased by: (1) local concerns and priorities; and (2) discrimination of threat and opportunity without reference to other unit perceptions.

b. Direction and Span of Attention (Selectivity)

Dominant Foci of Interest

There are multiple centers of focus and interest within the organization to both internal and external stimuli. The central staff, as we have stressed before, is a bi-level, subunit. The lower level, those with day-to-day contact with schools, are concerned with providing special skills and thus remains a somewhat amorphous group. The upper level of the central office is concerned with the future growth of the district and of the management of the system; specifically the relationship between student achievement and staff performance and efficiency. The High School is interested most commonly with returning the school climate to normalcy, improving staff relations, maintaining consistency, and reducing uncertainty in the accomplishment of teaching activities. The Paters' School and the Webster Avenue School concentrate their efforts on adapting to the structural constraints and added burdens of the GIC system. The community and Board are concerned with establishing equilibrium between competing components of the organization. Thus, each of the units within the organization has directed itself toward local interest with the exceptions of

the central office and the community, both of whom have paid close attention to the higher needs of the district including the maintenance of tranquility and effectiveness.

c. Assessment of the Discrepancy Between Reality and Perceived Reality

In assessing the discrepancy between reality and perceived reality in the organization it is necessary to reaffirm our contention that the organization does not perceive reality as a whole. As we have shown in previous sections, each unit has a poor perception of: itself, the other units, and the outside environment. This in itself is a reality discrepancy that we feel can be narrowed only through mutual adaptation to "point of view" and local circumstances. It is also meaningful to state our perception of the reality within which the organization functions. It is our observation that: (1) The organization as a whole is inadequately utilizing the opportunity of locally initiated accountability in the wake of imminent state-mandated controls; (2) The organization is appropriately appraising the external threat of NSIC activism; (3) The community is reacting appropriately to strains and pressures on local autonomy and tradition in light of the organization's unpreparedness to deal with external threat and opportunity; and (4) The emergence of the Board from the superintendent's dominance is an appropriate mechanism for maintaining perspective between fiscal and performance demands on one hand, and the quality of education at the local level, which is threatened by the imposition of unclear and arbitrary central office policy in the form of Project Alter. In relation to our construct of reality, we sense wide discrepancy in perceived reality in the organization, qualified by the fact that as individual units our perceptions and unit perceptions are similar. At the district level (in aggregate) the organization's perception of internal and external environment is dissimilar to our observations of the climate in which the

organization functions.

2. Organizational Knowledge

While the organization's capacity for receiving knowledge that is salient, accurate, and appropriately interpreted seems high for individual units with respect to some issues, the organization as a whole lacks this capacity. As a result the organization has built a reserve of knowledge about itself and the environment in which it operates that is ignored. This wealth of knowledge within the confines of local settings represents an organizational asset unnoticed by individuals in the various sub-groups.

a. Acquisition of Knowledge

(1) Methods of Obtaining New Knowledge

The organization receives knowledge from a variety of sources which are uniquely appropriate for the individual components of the organization. The central office receives outside knowledge from: (a) educational research institutions which are utilized heavily by the superintendent and the assistant superintendent for research, planning, and evaluation; and (b) experimentation in other districts. These two sources are integrated extensively into the policy and planning system of the district. The English program at the Webster Avenue School was adapted from an English experiment in Kingvile. The assistant superintendent participated in a special project at Suthers University in educational planning (the precursor of Project Alter), and the superintendent spent his early career in educational research at various universities. The school personnel acquire knowledge of the outside environment from several sources: (1) professional contacts with other educators through in-service programs; (2) graduate studies; (3) state and national education associations; and (4) informal contacts with individuals, such as researchers, from other areas of the external environment.

These sources are utilized by the school faculties, generally as they relate to individual teaching tasks. Information that is incongruous to local settings is generally neglected by school personnel, who find the accomplishment of every day tasks difficult enough, and who are under increasing demands and expectations imposed by central office innovation.

The community receives knowledge largely from internal sources. Since their primary concerns are with exogenous careers and home life, information relevant to education issues in the organization comes from newspapers, parent organizations, the Teachers' Association, and Board meetings. Community information sources are seasonal in nature, as much of the information is elicited at contract negotiation time. The Board receives its information from both external sources, in that some of its members are in the field of education, and from the internal representatives such as the teachers, the community, and the central office. In the opinion of many organizational members the superintendent has dominated much of the Board's thinking.

Internal sources of knowledge that are not utilized by individuals at local settings are the MIS computer-based data banks developed by central office staff. These sources have stored organizational knowledge of student performance and achievement over the past few years. As diagnostic instruments and planning tools, these reserves are readily available for organizational use. However, computer technology, as we will suggest later, has been frequently discounted by local organization members because of its "impersonal" and number orientation. Furthermore, the use of these knowledge sources by central office staff has been perceived, especially by teachers, to have surreptitious implications, specifically in teacher evaluation and accountability. Thus the organization has not made effective use of this existing knowledge. Similarly, there exists within the organization a great deal of process knowledge reflecting problems experienced by teacher in operationalizing new instructional methods and proce-

dures. While articulated by many teachers, top management has not made use of the adjustment needs data in reevaluating policies.

(2) Degree of Receptivity to New Knowledge

The organization as a whole is receptive to new knowledge, however the unique points of view inherent in teacher tasks and central office tasks preclude translation of new knowledge into effective utilization. The cyclical planning system developed by the assistant superintendent for research, planning, and evaluation has great theoretical merit; it has proven somewhat ineffective in practice because it has been implemented from the management point of view as a programming, planning, and budgeting system. Although teachers at the local level have indicated familiarity with some of the concepts and rationale behind the project, many feel alienated. The source of this alienation is not the lack of receptiveness by teachers but rather the language and level of abstraction inherent in the project's presentation at the individual schools. Specifically, the implementation of the project assumed local setting homogeneity, when in fact each of the two schools now operating under the system suggest unique climates and structures. Even though the project has been piloted and designed for adaptation, changes have not been actualized in an effective format.

Furthermore, the central office has inappropriately perceived the organization to be ready for comprehensive change. Project Alter and other long-range planning designs have been unilateral desires for change from top administrators, rather than referendums of the organization as a whole. The organization has not yet felt the need for comprehensive change in the accomplishment of local tasks. There is no sense of ownership of the unilateral planning system and efforts towards mutual adaptation of local needs and organizational needs have not been adequately explored and institutionalized.*

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* These comments are expanded in a paper by Milbrey Wallin McLaughlin and Paul Berman "Macro and Micro Implementation," the Rand Corporation, Santa Monica, May, 1975.

(3) Level and Range of Knowledge

We seek here to differentiate areas in which the organization expresses a high degree of sophistication in certain types of knowledge and naivete in others. The distinction can be discussed at three levels:

1. Knowledge relating to current trends combining student achievement, teacher performance, and program budgeting.
2. Generation of policy reflecting diverse local settings and resistance to incongruous changes in job accomplishment.
3. Simplification of complex financial constraints relating to efficiency and effectiveness in learning.

In each of these three areas different components of the organization and the outside community display acute sensitivity and neglect. Staff members are insensitive to the first, sensitive to the second, and insensitive to the third. Central office personnel are sensitive to the first, insensitive to the second, and sensitive to the third. Community members are insensitive to the first, sensitive to the second, and insensitive to the third. Each group has its own unique "point of view" and in the past has been unable to adapt to the sensitivities of other groups on these issues.

b. Use of Knowledge

(1) How Is It Brought Together

One of the most enviable accomplishments has been the attempt to bring knowledge from the central office to the local settings. The Program Improvement Committees, involving teachers, administrators, and community members have been designed to integrate the school community and the GIC/UAS concept into a working relationship. At the local level, in the Paters School the work of these committees has been successful; however, the program has not yielded significant integration between the central office and the school. In effect, the committees have succeeded in localizing school

communities around the school sub-group. As an attempt to spread the success to the other untis and to integrate the central office more closely to local communities and their schools, a system-wide PIC program has been established. We suggest this effort is highly functional in providing feedback about local conditions and circumstances for adapting strategies for change and mutual accomodation into the central office.

Even though developments, such as the one briefly described above, have positive implications for the future, innovation and policy decisions are clearly the domain of the superintendent, perhaps even more, of the assistant superintendent for research, planning, and evaluation. Communal decision-making is the unique province of those at the local level, who are involved in instructional units, where program curriculum decisions are made. Organizational members indicated in the interviews that top management rarely visited schools other than for the in-service training sessions designed to implement Project Alter. These days, as stated earlier, are known as "John's Days." We feel that the planning activities for programs like Alter occur at the local level. Although teachers are alert to innovative programs and actively participate in their implementation, though not necessarily by choice, few view knowledge of these programs with interest in design and long-range planning.

Characterizing the use of knowledge within the organization depends greatly upon understanding the kinds of knowledge that exist and who might have interest in the utilization of certain types of knowledge. Two examples will suffice. Project Alter was initiated in the district as a cyclical planning and programming system specifically designed to evaluate student progress on the basis of stated objectives. The ultimate objective is program budgeting, as programs are funded on the basis of objectives attained. The assistant superintendent described the process as follows:

> In Algebra I there were 69 objectives . . . the objectives were spread across CAM forms [Comprehensive Assessment Program]. The same instrument is used four times a year . . . the critical thing is to see the

> difference between the first and second, the second and third, not any one testing. Looking at last week's data there are many things the staff will not have to teach . . . then you go to the more expensive development of the individual student assessment. That we call SAM [Student Achievement Mastery]. The teachers develop four or five additional parallel items and if, as they look at the CAM, some areas seem weak and they want to teach them, they want to know who doesn't know what. They pick four objectives and ask for a test to be made up of those. That puts a much heavier load on each objective. The test is administered and they get a print-out of the names and numbers who have mastered. We will be able to cut out a cost for the Algebra I program. We can tie the cost of the program with the mastery of objectives.

Individuals participating in this type of thinking, using highly technical system concepts, are generally in the central office. When we asked the members of the organization what they did in their jobs, 57% told us they were mostly involved in cognitive teaching activities, 14% said they were involved in instruction for individual needs of the students, and only 1% said "curriculum development."

Our point is that system planning is a highly abstract and specialized area of thought uncommon in much of the organization where the accomplishment of tasks and individual contact with students dominates. For the majority, Project Alter and its implementation system, "John's Days," are beyond the scope of usable information and abstraction. The assistant superintendent for research, planning, and evaluation commented: "The CAMs and SAMs take away from each person; they become a group rather than themselves only. There's good and bad in that. For the gifted teachers it might be a constraint. For a pedestrian teacher it's a boon. We've got to defend the excellent person. A lot of it is on faith. No matter how I tell them I'm behind them, they don't believe me. They're concerned about staff evaluation, measuring them against their own criteria . . ." Interviews conducted with teachers (a mixture assumed to include good and bad) indicated that most teachers do not relate to the level of technology, computers, and planning and system integration suggested by Project Alter. Instead they recognize at their level of consciousness and utility

that the project interferes with teaching by consuming the scarce resource of time.

(2) How Knowledge is Organized and Systematized

Process knowledge, the data on student achievement, is organized through a management information system, available to all components of the organization but presented print-out format is cumbersome and confusing in the opinion of many teachers. (Although we recognize that the confusion is probably also a function of resistance to replacement by machine.) Access to this organizational knowledge in theory should be simplified by the use of data processing and yet "ownership" of the organizational knowledge, becuse it is locked in the language of computer technology, is not available to those who generated it--the teachers and students. This reduces the resource value of information and acts to further segregate the components of the organization. In-service training programs, administrative councils, and program improvement committees are also utilized by the organization to process and store knowledge of their proceedings. These, however, are localized in content and membership and have a locally initiated and contained data base highly relevant to the process of education in local settings. This organizational knowledge is critically important to the operation of the district and is, in our opinion, utilized and integrated into the MIS system.

(3) Organizational Conditions Affecting the Use of Intellectual Sources

We do not suggest that organization members at the local level are incapable of mastering the technology and abstraction of systems planning and centralized information handling. We do emphasize, however, that there are organizational barriers separating availability from understanding. We feel that local members sense a loss of identity and purpose to computerized operations. Information on student achievement in the traditional sense became measurement and evaluation through objective and subjective processes captured in the teacher's intellect. The process has now been transferred to a computer and emerges with numerical value, symbolizing not only innovation

and efficiency but also impersonality. This has become a key factor in the education process. A sense of lost ownership is also apparent in the organization. The grade book, as the ultimate source of process evaluation information, has been replaced by a data bank of an impersonal nature. Student achievement information relinquished to the computer becomes its property and only those who know how to manipulate the machine can retrieve information. Uncertainty about where the information goes and what it's used for are important concerns and sources of continued distrust. More importantly, this becomes the source of two impending organizational problems: (1) Teaching will become increasingly geared to testing. As energies are made in this direction, they are reduced in others. This reduction of teaching activity has unknown consequences in the affective domain. (2) Information on student achievement may become sabotaged to demonstrate achievement when teachers are pressured to perform on the basis of quantity more than quality. This condition has considerable consequences for planning and budgeting systems.

c. Dissemination of Knowledge

Dissemination of knowledge in the organization emanates from two sources, the local setting and the central office. Knowledge coming from the local setting, as we have suggested already, is in the nature of adjustment and recommendation, and news reports of local conditions. This knowledge follows informal communication networks through building administrators, central office personnel, or committee meetings. Knowledge descending the organization hierarchy is both procedural (mundane and substantive) and policy-oriented (e.g. curriculum). Information from print-outs emerges at local levels through committee channels, personal contact, and in-service training. This last means is the least successful one.

3. Organizational Language

There are four distinct language tones in the organization: (1) excitement in

positive innovative change, global in scope and highly superlative content in articulation, (2) neutrality, passivity, or latency towards change and innovation. This tone is usually noticeable in reference to unenthusiastic participation in "John's Days" or other burdens of innovation in daily tasks, (3) resistance and hostility to innovation and change, commonly located with the activist minority in the faculty and in the community; and (4) the silent majority secure enough not to be intimidated by change or passive enough to be able to sense mission behind disruptive change. These tones, functions of points of view and location, are debilitating to organizational activity and concensus. At another level there is a basic dichotomy between the language styles relevant, meaningful, and functional to local tasks and the language styles at the central office level. These differences are crucial in the design and planning of organizational change and in the past have not received adequate recognition. It is unlikely that "just put it in" innovations (in the words of an assistant superintendent) will ever succeed without design and organization considering the language variations.

a. Organizational Ideology

In this section we seek to outline the stated ideology of the organization, its purposes and goals. The aggregate ideology of the organization stated here evolved from the following sources: Board of Education, Superintendent, faculty, and the community. The philosophy of education stated by the community through the Board suggests that, "Our school system has the obligation to provide an adequate program of education for all youth, K - 12, with special attention to factors inherent in the changing needs of our society." In reference to changes in society, a document from the superintendent's office noted:

> The forecast of educational needs of 1980 should be based on two premises: (1) More young people will be going on to further education after secondary school and (2) Routine jobs will be per-

> formed by more machinery. Man will be called upon to direct machinery. Inherent in both of these premises are the common factors of: (1) change, (2) the need for man to communicate, (3) the need for man to think logically, (4) the need for man to have a broad understanding of his occupational field rather than being trained to perform specific tasks, and (5) the need to develop healthy and worthwhile recreational interests, since machinery will undoubtedly give man more free time.

When asked what the school system stood for, faculty and staff members answered: "Individually guided education, the school system is committed to that principle"; "Trying to make each child a responsible citizen, learning to live with themselves and the community"; "Educational leadership in the state, program reform and Alter and PPBS"; "Try to reach every child"; "Academics, willingness to change, keep traditions down and remain flexible."

The ideology stated by community and organization members suggests a strong commitment to the needs of present and future generations. Our study has revealed a fundamental awareness and understanding of these goals throughout the organization that permeates the present conflicts and tensions existing in the system. This underlying positive confirmation of ideology by the great majority of organization members is an important asset of the organization and should be utilized in formulation and development of "system" growth and progress. We feel that this concensus will furthermore act as a strong influence in turning the tide of current conflict in the organization. In particular, this influence is seen in the remolding of a productive climate in the High School. It is our feeling that the fundamental integration will play a key role in the future of the organization; as the welcoming billboard on Kepler's town line suggests, "Kepler, New Salem, Where Civic Pride Means Community Progress."

b. Language and Policies as Distinct From the Policies Themselves

Policies conceived, developed, and initiated in the central office are referred to in language different from that used by local organization members to describe the

same policy. Top administrators consistently refer to policy with vacillating "we" and "I" attachments, while individuals in other sub-units refer to the same policies with "he" or "they" attachments. The issue here is ownership of policies. Individuals at the top of the organization have a higher sense of ownership than do people at the local level. In using references to "we," top administrators are, in our opinion, really saying "I." There is an important sense of ownership at the top. Some excerpts from interviews illustrate this concept of possession: "I've been responsible for the establishment of system-wide data gathering"; "We said, okay here are the goals, now write us some terminal objectives"; "This has been my project, the interrelationships between all the pieces I probably understand best"; "We are going to improve instruction in this district by upgrading staff. In the future I'll be able to say to a teacher when he's hired, 'You say you're a teacher, but I don't know that"; "I've given Kepler everything that I have. It is what I am"; "I feel we must as a profession do a better job of what we are trying to change. If we don't we're going to lose our profession. We believe that."

The orientation of staff members toward district policies is expressed in predominant "he" or "they" terms. Some excerpts illustrate this observation: "They don't give them much structure" (describing orientation of new teachers); "They've already dropped the course in literature"; "John isn't clear about Project Alter, he seems to be floundering"; "We have accountability through Project Cycle, John Sonovy's thing"; "There's no accountability, you mean Harry? They started formulating goals from the community"; "How can you tell if something works if you haven't tried it? They [teachers] don't have the courage, they're afraid to try new things." Reference to policies made these teacher comments exemplify the notion that for district innovations to be successful they must be perceived as communally owned by the entire organization. The "we--I" syndrome and the "they" orientation of different groups

indicate an organizational climate in which innovation and policies, in general, are heavily dominated by the top of the organization. When asked about planning in the district one teacher commented: "Mostly top to lower communication. Policy and goals were directly brought down from the top. The people at the bottom have no control. They see these goals and many are not afraid to object although many just follow them." The uneven distribution of program and policy ownership, we suggest, is a problem area for the organization; an area that unless resolved in the future will, preclude organizational change.

Inherent in the language of many organization members is the familial nature of the organization. Several references were made by local and central office staff to the parental image of the central office staff and particularly of the superintendent. One central staff member said, "People learn what they're ready to learn . . . I make people uncomfortable because I make them learn . . ." A teacher said: "There's a lot of cooperation . . . If you want to go on a trip, they're all for it. The teachers feel they have to be reassured by the superintendent." Sibling rivalry was noticed by interviewers on several instances; one teacher said:

> The other teachers get along better with the superintendent. He's more interested in what happens at the other school. The other is newer and more innovative... There's more of a personality match between the superintendent and the principal of the other school.There's an impression of the favored school being Webster. The faculty feels left out of the superintendent's planning, not in any overt way, but just in the sense that they feel things are done more in the spirit of the other school. The energy therefore at the Paters School is somewhat low, founded on this sense of favoritism to the other. This affects people by making them want to compete and do better than the other group. Other people ignore this sense of favorites and try to do their work.

In two interviews the superintendent commented on the dependency of the district: "In the past fifteen years I have never failed to support every teacher. It was, 'Daddy Wilms' will take care of you. But this time I said, 'You're on your own.'

It was a big mistake. It [the organization] needs a warm figure, someone who makes people feel very safe and secure and comfortable . . ." Our observation is that the district depends greatly upon the superintendent for security, and that current resistance from the organization to district policies has upset this relationship. In the words of the superintendent: "The comfort is gone . . . I'm not so sure I haven't given Kepler something that it never wanted to have. If I left it would go right back to being whatever it was and that's what it would be. That would frighten me." An early observation by a member of the research staff summarizes this phenomenon:

> The superintendent and his select camaraderie seem extremely confident in their system: personnel, goal concensus, authoritative position, and leadership. One is made aware of this closely knit group and its jocular leader whose tone, while cordial and familiare, is overtly condescending to the point that the observer senses the assumption of unrestricted power. The leader wants us to know that all is well in Kepler; the marriage between community and school has been consummated. The central office displays numerous affectations of trust and the symbiotic structure of its membership. Cartoons and tongue-in-cheek quotations suggest to the observer that the leader is not only the symbol of high organizational integration but that he is an equal; a friend. It seems likely that the superintendent is a master of creation, development, and management of impressions. His local audience seems receptive but to the observer the veneer is thin. There is an inclination, as an outsider, to question what is observed because of the ubiquity of 'all is well.' These boundaries seem increasingly disparate and shallow as the other organizational levels are observed. Two examples suggest this phenomenon. First, as one moves away from the central office the air of solidarity centered around the leader dissipates. At the building level the omnipresence of the superintendent is less noticeable. Here people carry out their tasks and activities pressed in many cases into confusion by the centralized management practices with a program-budgeting computer based system. More importantly, this persor initiated the need, concept and operationalization of the innovation only after considerable stumping in the superintendent's office and apparently without the visible input of the remainder of the school community. This suggests that perhaps the issues of authority and power are contradictory and that all does not emanate from the superintendent. The impression given off by the leader does not suggest this. This is very disturbing because the omnipotence of the superintendent is highly visible close to the source but dubious at the grass roots.

4. Emotional Atmosphere of the Organization

Our analysis has suggested that the emotional tone of the organization varies, depending on: (1) specifications of the time period in making observations; (2) location in the organization where observations are made; and (3) the individual from whom the information is elicited. Within these constraints analysis of the prevailing emotional climate in the organization must relate to the following concerns: (1) emotional mood of the organization in general; (2) intraorganizational variability of emotions; and (3) the stability and variability of mood in regard to intensity, quality, duration, and appropriateness of emotional reaction to stimulating forces.

a. The Prevailing Mood and Range

The prevailing mood of the organization as a whole is positive. The organization feels secure, confident, and optimistic about itself in the long run. In reference to current, transient emotions, some members of the organization sense tension, pressure, and anxiety. The difference between long-run emotional level and short-run variance is an important distinction. Interim tensions and conflicts resulting from periodic threats imposed by the internal and external environment vary with intensity and duration dependent on the organization's long-term prevailing emotional atmosphere. Thus, organizations with high self-esteem, confident of their ability to deal effectively with changing environmental conditions, are those that enjoy stability. Others that react to threat and opportunity inappropriately, where response is greater or less than necessary in content and intensity, are less successful in maintaining organizational stability and consistency. The organization under study is, with qualifications, of the former genre. The qualification we maintain is that the organization has not had sufficient experience with external and internal

threat to have developed defensive and/or adaptive mechanisms appropriate to the various sub-groups. Individual sub-groups, as we have emphasized, do not react in a similar manner to external and internal influences as do other sub-groups. Reactions by one group to external threat are judged inappropriate in content and intensity by other groups. While eliciting positive emotions within the central office and among many Board members, Alter has received an inappropriate reaction from teachers, in the opinion of central staff. Similarly, NSIC activities and teacher contract demands have, in the opinion of the Teachers' Association, evoked unreasonable reaction from the community, the Board, and the central office. The GIC/UAS system is becoming increasingly acceptable to the elementary schools but was reacted to in the past as a threat, while the emotional attachment of the central office to the program was positive and optimistic. The emotional reaction to IRF by the community was empathy with teacher concerns, while firmly maintaining the need to cut back budget expenditures. This reaction was deemed unresponsive and harsh in the opinion of teachers in the Teachers' Association, which was in fact unable to gain empathy from much of their own rank and file. Teachers' Association reaction to the RIF issue was seen as excessive by the community (at least by those interviewed by our staff) to a situation in which no recourse was available.

The diverse interpretations of conditions within the external and internal environment among sub-groups in the organization has resulted in variable emotional reactions viewed as inappropriate by members of the organization and community. In this section we illustrate the intensity, duration, and appropriateness of organizational emotions in the context of the various sub-groups.

b. The Nature of the Organization Mood and Intra-Organizational Variability

In our introduction to the emotional framework of the organization we stressed the prevailing positive mood while suggesting intra-organizational discrepancies.

From interviews conducted in the organization and from the written questionnaire, the emotional framework of the organization as a whole emerges. The following illustrations from these sources reflect organizational mood.*

In the Webster Avenue School perceptions of the organization's mood were positive; we suggest this reflects the emotional level of the unit itself. "The system is caring, happy and energetic, although there are some concerns for its own psychology, some fits of melancholy but generally optimistic," was the assessment of one administrator who added that, "it is also a bit worried about its staff and relations to the Board and administration." A teacher commented, "Outgoing, active but relaxed, perhaps too free and easy." Another teacher said, "Happy and busy, the whole program is exciting, but too many things are going on at once. Time is short, there are scheduling problems." At the intra-organizational level many teachers suggested emotional instability. One teacher commented, "Teachers are fighting for time." Another commented, "Webster is on top, advances too fast, gets things done while the other places just talk. The High School is a big blob, there's always some kind of rebellion." An administrator commented: "There's some confusion about relationships from some individuals in the district. The administration sometimes deals with groups as individuals and sometimes with individuals as groups."

At the Paters School there was similar variance between organization assessment of local mood. An administrator said, "[the system is] person who wants to better himself . . . always been pretty good but recognizes the necessity for change and is working very hard making that change." A teacher said, "Before the district was more

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* Excerpts in this section came from responses to part D of the interview outline which appears in the appendix.

individualistic, now it's group-oriented . . . there's more relating among peers and less reliance on those above." Another teacher compared the system to a person saying, "A good individual with faults, sincerely trying to be friendly but periodically gets himself into trouble with his friendliness." A teacher commented, ". . . good communication, warmth, healthy arguments, discussing opinions freely, but well integrated. These are times of turmoil . . . then it's a person who tears things apart." A last comment came from another teacher who said the district was, "Concerned people sharing things . . . forward moving but at a turtle's pace because although the superintendent is innovative, the community is more staid and the superintendent makes certain allowances for the community's tolerance of innovation."

High School staff members perceived the emotional nature of the organization as a whole as positive, but expressed less confidence in local emotional moods. One teacher commented, "It's not impersonal, friendly," and in the High School, "permissive . . . [but] when things are wrong, they change . . . little direction and outside influences." Another teacher said, "The district is flexible, interesting, frustrated and hopeful for next year. Not apathetic, turns gripes into constructive areas." "Primitive, not yet civilized, doesn't know what is happening," was the comment of another teacher. A third teacher commented, "Depressing with lots of tension in the High School . . . low morale, great anxiety. Before this year the personality had been happier and easy going." To other teachers the organization's emotional mood is: "Dynamic, continually changing but with a certain complacency and self-satisfaction. It's always reaching for new goals in a changing society. . . [there are] points of vacillation, always seems to point to improvement"; "Fairly young, late twenties, early thirties, amiable, fairly loose, not structured although tending that way. Easy-going, intellectually exciting. Lighthearted and gay, easy to get along with." Two

teachers personified the school district in describing its mood: "A person at war with himself, his priorities a little mixed up. A good angel on one shoulder and a bad on the other. The person will end up a success in spite of himself. Cares about kids. Puts things in neat little places. Sticks his shirt tails in to make sure nothing shows . . . moving forward at a slow rate. There's so much potential for great things to happen"; "A middle-aged man in a brown tweed suit, white shirt, narrow tie. The suit needs dry cleaning, he needs a shave. He has a wife and kids but can't remember the color of her eyes or what the kids' ages are. Always late. He's a good soul. Really doesn't mean harm to anybody but not always sensitive to others and doesn't always apologize when he does those things. Hard of hearing. Except on Sundays when he goes to church he's like this. There he looks good."

In the central office the emotional assessment of the organization is similarly positive. An assistant superintendent said the district was, "sensitive to people, sympathetic, some reciprocity an 'eye for an eye' in the old negotiations syndrome." One specialist commented: "I guess it's like Dr. Wilms', like him. If I were to pick a person it would be him. It has the same set of attributes that Adler has, dynamic, strong, innovative, open, and fluent." Another person said, "Overall it's feeling compassionate, where children are looked at as children . . . searching for answers. It has a purpose to find a better way." Another assistant superintendent suggested that the district was: "An exciting person with some concerns. A person who right now is recognizing that things are happening to him but he's not quite sure why. There's a positive anticipation of what's at the end of this. There's also very deep concern. They want it to be good. Relationships have changed and they're anxious that these changes be for the good."

The superintendent was also asked to personify the personality and emotional nature of the district:

> A mean and hungry athlete who wants to be a world champ. Isn't going to bend any rules to get there. It could be a world champion ace horse who could break a leg and have to be killed. Like all highly motivated and exemplary kinds of people, this organization could be crippled and the difference between what it is now and what it is after could be drastic. There's a good possibility that without external support this body can't sustain itself. It's gone further than it can go. Remember that horse that just broke its ankle and had to die? Well this system could die. It's gonna go, it's gonna change. It might change for the better but it may not. But it's gonna be different.

We later asked a Board member to characterize the emotional character of the district:

> [It has] three parts--basically it's been here a long time, old but some new parts, a lot of memories, parents who have gone through and now have kids in the system. Times and ways that were. It's good in outward appearance. It blends into the total community. The mental attitude is ambivalent. There are some who were born and raised here, as well as new people who have never lived in a rural community, traditional as well as change activities. Some people say this has resulted in a lack of discipline. It would not be Catherine Deneuve, Burt Reynolds, or Ma and Pa Kettle, somewhere in between. . . natural confusion. It has a tremendous amount of outside pressure.

From the questionnaires came several indications of the emotional climate of the school district. When asked to evaluate the amount of tension and friction sensed in the district: 4.2% said "a great deal," 27.7% said "a fair amount," 53.8% said "very little," and 10.9% said "none." We felt that an indication of high emotional stability and should be related to a high degree of positive interpersonal relationships. When we asked the organization members to rate how well they got along with others, 57% responded "very well" and 39.5% responded "rather well." We then asked if people were happy with the physical conditions and pay/benefits in the district: 19% said the physical conditions were "excellent," 28% each said "good" and "fair," and 20% said "poor"; 73.9% said the pay and benefits were "average". When we asked if people felt confident of having a permanent job (which we assumed to indicate a positive emotional level) we found that 30% were "very sure" and 42% were "quite sure." Most people answering "very sure" were in the High School, the location of most of the RIF positions.

We suggest that organizational expectations influence emotional moods in systems. When asked to assess the amount the district expects 56% said expectations were "just right," 21% said they were "unclear" (as we noted earlier), 10% said the organization expected "too much," and 8% said "too little." The turnover rate is also indicative of emotional stability in the organization. When we asked people how much turnover they had seen in their work units, 58% said that there was "very little" and 28% said "a fair amount." Most who said "a fair amount" were in the High School. Over 46% of those answering a question on the amount of consideration the district gives to ideas indicated "somewhat," while 25% said "very little" and 13% said "a great deal."

These responses generally support our contention that the overall, emotional atmosphere of the district is positive, a factor which we consider an important asset. In summation, the interviews indicated that the overall organizational mood was: (1) caring, compassionate, and sensitive; (2) happy and easy going; (3) characterized by free discussion and healthy arguments; (4) flexible and interesting; (5) dynamic and young; (6) innovative, open, and fluent. As we have indicated, others view the emotional atmosphere of the components of the organization in transitional but more pessimistic terms: anxious, frustrated, permissive, rebellious, confused, primitive, and different. It is our feeling that the future growth and maturation of the organization may depend upon its ability to reduce the discrepancy between district and local emotional atmospheres.

5. Organizational Action

Given the previous discussion of organizational emotions at the district and local level, here we analyze organizational action and behavior, especially as it relates to emotional inclination.

a. Energy Level

Goal accomplishment depends significantly upon the level of energy expended by the organization. From interviews conducted in the organization, we found the level of energy to be very high, not only in a system sense but within the local schools as well. However, as in the case of organizational mood, intra-organizational variance also exists here. The following comments by organizational members at the Paters School suggest this relationship: "There's energy mainly in the superintendent's office and in the other elementary school (Webster)"; "There's 90% energy here (Paters), four of the teachers are working [in our unit] the fifth isn't. Some of the teachers give 100% . . . the unit is always striving"; "There's a good deal of energy although certain individuals might not have that much"; "Very energetic, pep, bounce, a variety of things are going on in respect to Cycle."

Webster School faculty had similar comments to make: "The district is very energetic, but the central administration is not happy." High School teachers commented: "The school is more peppy than passive, but this has been a bad year--IRF and discipline problems. This year it's been ground down. Not its usual self"; "Low energy contributing to low efficiency. Morale is shaken [in the High School] . . . there's hope for next year things will be better, communication might be easier"; "Energy is very important for get up and go. The faculty initiates energy for the benefit of all."

Organizational energies are not distributed equally among all of the component units nor is energy dispensed equally throughout the year. The highest levels of organizational energy were in the High School and the Webster Avenue School. In the High School, pressures and tensions from transitional external and internal threats induced high energy levels frustrated by teaching conditions. In Webster the reputation of the school unit for innovation and the tide of change created visibly high

energy levels. Much energy at Webster is expended in adjustment to the IGE structures, paralleling less change in energy levels directed toward teaching activities.

Energy levels are also highest at the beginning and end of the year when testing and clerical duties demand great amounts of organizational energy. Much energy is also exhausted in meeting deadlines for program budget approval and negotiation, while in the past year the most energy was directed to the negotiation of teacher contracts.

b. Qualities of Action

(1) Degree of Directness

There is noticeable variability in the directness with which the organization approaches its problems. There are members who attempt to face problems directly but, as perceived by others in the system, do not act in the best interests of the organization. The KTA is an example. The central office is less direct in facing problems, probably because in the past there have been few issues of crisis proportions. The RIF controversy was a marked example of indirectness on the part of the central office and superintendent. When it became known that twenty-two teachers had been relieved because of a drop in "sending" enrollment, the superintendent modestly reassured the organization that new jobs would materialize. However, this did not happen in the proportion guaranteed by the superintendent and relationships between the teachers and central office have deteriorated.

Relationships between the school units and the central office have also suggested indirectness of action. A teacher in the High School commented:

> I was asked by the superintendent and assistant superintendent for the best way to handle the program. The department offered suggestions, spent a lot of time, optimism and hope for the kids and submitted proposals. The program was cut and it was all wasted time. We were denied the flexibility in staff and we needed to carry out goals and we were told by John to generate behavioral objectives. I don't understand them, and it's the fault of the people who introduced them to me because I've made a sincere effort.

Another teacher in the system commented on the success of direct action from the cen-

tral office: "The first time I heard about the program (Alter) was at a county meeting. It didn't go over well, the room was too big, you couldn't hear, and it took a whole school day. The second time I heard about it was at the school. I got the most out of what was going on when I asked John Sonovy to come to my class. He explained things in detail, using graphs and charts. Another teacher was also there. I was very pleased with the personal attention I received."

(2) Degree of Flexibility

The general indirectness of action from the central office reflects inflexibility of action in the district. Within the local units, changing organizational structures have eased local flexibility of action by transferring decision-making power over curriculum to teachers. These same structures have increased the competitive nature of the programs, each now competing for funds and time. Central office innovations like Alter have built-in structures allowing for flexibility within school units. Pilot programs are utilized, questionnaires are handed out, and formal feedback channels are included. However, we have observed that these mechanisms of flexibility are precluded by basic and fundamental misunderstanding of the rationale, purpose, and benefit of district policy. The central office has been inflexible in articulating and applying itself to fit these needs.

(3) Planning and Timing

Here we refer to the organization's propensity to forecast change in the environment and to develop models of action in contingency. The organization is not strong in planning for eventualities; however, this liability is a product of its historical isolation from threat. Even though the stated philosophy of the organization clearly associates change with the district's future, planning for long-range contingency, as a system activity, has only recently been adopted in Project Alter. Alter purports to establish organizational objectives at the various levels of the organization in con-

gruence with local needs and priorities. However, the measurement of goals, by quantifiable objectives, has alienated much of the organization. Many feel that some of the most important accomplishments in the education process are unquantifiable because they are qualitative outcomes, such as personal and character development. Thus, the planning activity, while in theory including all components and activities of the organization, has alienated some members and does not include the activities of the district yielding "affective" outcomes from the educational process.

(4) Degree of Persistence

Our observation of organization activities and comments from the people in the various units of the system reflect a high degree of organizational persistence. Programs and activities begun by the organization are not dropped arbitrarily for others, although some individuals commented that innovation is piled upon innovation. The organization is persistent in the accomplishment of basic tasks related to teaching activities and accepts change in these tasks only when change has clear benefit. Under these circumstances, change is persistently applied; however, during the early phases of GIC and Alter persistence was low. The organization also pursues new programs with persistence. Special education programs have received such high levels of organization energy and persistence that these programs are important organizational assets.

(5) Effectiveness, Constructiveness and Destructiveness

The effectiveness of organizational action in the system can be fundamentally attributed to the high energy level and to the underlying positive emotional nature alluded to earlier in this section. These assets are important to sustained and appropriate organizational action in response to changing environmental constraints and influences. We feel, however, that intra-organizational variability of emotional level, organization knowledge, "point of view," and non-discrimination of threat and opportunity often result in decreased effectiveness. Despite the existing conditions

there is optimism for the future and organizational actions are in the long run constructive. Transitional tensions and pressures from the outside world, exacerbated by the inter-organizational variability, render other organizational actions inhibitive or preventive of stability and growth. We cite the NSIC-KTA-community relationship as an example of short run deterioration. By short run we imply that the overall emotional nature of the district is strong and positive enough at this point to mitigate short run fluctuations in organizational stability. However, we also suggest that emotional directions are fragile and that unless intra-organizational variations can be resolved, especially in regard to what we have termed "point of view," the balance may be shifted.

Attitudes and Relationships

(1) Contemporary Attitudes Toward, and Relationships With, Others

The previous section reconstructed the nature of current organizational functioning. Perceptions, knowledge, language, emotional atmosphere, and organizational action in the system and among the sub-units now come together in the total personality of the organization. We seek here to understand and suggest the dimensions and intensity of relationships maintained by the organization with the outside. We begin with the range, diversification, depth, and constancy of specific relationships with the outside world; we then turn to the implications of these attachments.

a. Range, Diversification, Depth and Constancy

The range of relationships experienced by the organization as a system is narrow. Contacts with the outside world have been limited, largely because of its rural environment. Increasing social mobility and urban flight have enriched organizational contacts. However the quality of relationships held by the organization is high. In relations to the academic community and other districts, Kepler has been the recipient

of praise and reinforcement. Relationships with the outside world have been divided. Different sub-groups who maintain the same contacts with the outside world have vacillated from positive to negative attachments. While the NTA has enjoyed a major attachment to the NSIC, receiving support, encouragement, and gratification, the relationship between the NSIC and the central office has been negative.

The diversification of relationships has been both narrow and wide, depending on whether reference is made to the organization as a whole or to individual subgroups. The relationships the central office has had with educational institutions and other districts have been major attachments, both reinforcing and gratifying. On the other hand, these same relationships have not been positive to other organization members.

The local units rarely share in the relationships and are never extended the praise coveted by the central office. Furthermore, central office relationships with research means additional work for teachers, including questionnaires, interviews, and observation that can disrupt daily tasks. Other than these contacts, the district diversifies little. The NSIC is a constant influence in KTA activities, but it only surfaces when issues are in the profit interests of the NSIC; it is our observation, (supported by interview comments), that the relationship between the KTA and NSIC is imbalanced in favor of the NSIC, and that Kepler has become the battleground for NSIC agenda. Another dimension of diversity are the relationships with the community, which until recently, have been passive. The community is unsupportive of both the Teachers' Association and the central board with regard to reinforcement, encouragement, and praise. Current issues in the organizational environment have resulted in inappropriate emotional response from both sides and have induced equally unreasonable actions. The community has become intolerant of this, and thus we feel that

current relationships, while interim, are negative in nature.

The depth of relationships the organization has with outsiders is deceptive. While KTA NSIC relationships seem mutually beneficial and empathetic, wide-scale support of NSIC involvement in local issues is negligible. Teachers, community, Board, and administration are persuaded against NSIC involvement in organization affairs. We consider this relationship to be shallow since the KTA is being used as a surrogate for NSIC opposition to thorough and efficient education, and the organization as a whole is predominantly opposed to NSIC intrusion. Furthermore, as previously stressed, relationships between the central office, specifically Adler and Sonovy, and other school districts are shallow. Rather than mutual learning experiences to communicate educational innovation, the central office staff engages in outside relationships for two reasons: personal aggrandizement and external reinforcement of innovation in Kepler inlight of internal organizational skepticism. Bringing home praise and notoriety for Kepler's efforts justifies further experimentation and satisfies the superintendent's and assistant superintendent's needs for leadership dominance and fame.

The constancy of organization relationships is tenuous. The passivity of the community has changed. Many otherwise docile teachers have joined with outside influences in rebellion against arbitrary and inequitable treatment. There are indications that internal dissent and resistance will inhibit the organization's ability to sustain a climate in which leadership in innovation can be maintained. Kepler may have reached its saturation point for constant change unsupported by meaningful rationale and system-wide ownership.

b. Major Attachments

The major positive attachments of the organization in the outside world are to organizations or individuals who can help Kepler sustain change and educational excel-

lence. There is, however, considerable controversy in identifying these individuals or groups. Research relationships are seen as major positive relationships by the central office but are often burdensome and irrelevant to teachers, unless the rationale of the relationship is communicated to sub-groups. Successful transmission of information concerning research rationale and nature helps widen the base of the relationship within the organization as a whole. This is critical to organizational reinforcement and integration but has not been practiced with great success in Kepler. As emphasized repeatedly, relationships with other influential groups in education have been both positive and negative; we need not reaffirm our observations on the NJEA or contacts leading to GIC and Alter implementation. We suggest that the quality and intensity of major organizational attachments is adversely affected by intra-organizational disharmony of concensus and "point of view."

c. Masculine--Feminine Orientation

We note in this section that when individuals were asked to personify the orgnization, those who responded suggested masculine personality features: "A person who tears things apart, . . . [a person] sincerely trying to be friendly but who periodically gets himself into trouble," was the description given by a woman administrator. "A person who wants to better himself," and, more convincingly, "a middle-aged man in a brown tweed suit . . . a person at war with himself; his priorities are a little mixed up." The masculine orientation of the district clearly emerges even though 58% of the organization are women. We suggest that the existence of such strong masculine attachment would accent the central office's thrust to leadership in education. We also suggest that the masculine nature of personification reflects the familial character of the organization and the strength of the paternal leader. We do note however a reversal of masculine--feminine roles within the sub-groups. The elementary schools, generally dominated by women, are the primary locations of innovation. Although high

schools are generally male dominated, the Kepler High School is dominated by women (51.9%) and is passive in comparison to the other units.

d. Transference Phenomena

Our analysis of the organization uncoved three important instances of transference. First, the relationship between the researchers and the teachers began in a climate of distrust and resistance to our presence. This attitude had little to do with the nature or ethics of the research. It was transferred hostility from relationships between the organization's arbitrary parent figure and the docile, helpless children who, to the chagrin of the parent, sought comfort outside of the organization. The second transference phenomena developed from this same relationship between organizational parent and child. The superintendent commented:

> I should have gone to each one of the teachers affected by IRF and said it was breaking my heart, but there was nothing I could do. Instead I was the great father. Maybe this comes our of my own history. I grew up in a poor family; not poor intellectually--it was an intellectually rich family. But my old man sure wasn't good at making money. So I grew up with the attitude 'I don't need anyone to take care of me, I can take care of myself.' But the problem is I expect other people to have this attitude too. I expect the teachers to be the same way, to be very strong, but I'm always disappointed.

The teachers felt abandoned by the superintendent during the IRF crisis and turned to an outside influence for support. As in his own personal life, the superintendent resented having always to do things on his own, never relying on family. Now when the teachers need him, he fails them. He attempts to teach a lesson of self-reliance and individualism and is disdainful of their weakness in comparison to his strength.

Transference was also noted in the competitive nature of the two elementary schools. One of the schools was the superintendent's favorite. The school, which received all the best facilities, was the reflection of all the superintendent stood for. This is very much like the son who resembles his father and becomes the favorite

child. The hostility of teachers in the Paters School towards Webster Avenue constitutes transference of hostility toward the superintendent for playing favorites among his children.

(2) Relations to Things and Ideas

Relationships of individuals to objects and ideas in the organization are important components of the overall organization personality. Within the school district various individuals identify with both objects and ideas. The Webster Avenue School is the symbol of innovation, success, and excellence. There is a high degree of attachment to this symbolization among members of that school and a negative attachment among members of other schools, unable to match Merriam's excellence. Attachments to Project Alter are also symbolic. Teachers refer to the in-service insignificance of the activity in comparison to their every day tasks. For teachers the gradebook is an object of great symbolism. It is symbolic of the teacher's control over the process outcomes of the educational experience. As the gradebook is replaced by the computer, the teacher loses control over the determination of outcomes and, in addition, suffers a loss of identity and importance in the organization. To the assistant superintendent for research, planning, and evaluation, Project Alter is his symbolic baby. He has become so deeply committed to its protection that he has alienated himself from the realization that Project Alter will grow strong if allowed to adapt to its environment. To the teachers at the Halsted School, the success of the GIC model symbolized a job that the parents will praise and hopefully will balance the painful favoritism shown the Webster School.

a. Quality and Intensity of Relations to Management Systems

A formal management system is a set of integrated activities designed to facilitate the planning, control, and operation of organizational activities, tasks, and

goals. In Kepler these functions are integrated into Project Alter, a system developed to integrate organizational goals at the various levels of the system. Long-range planning strategies are developed from the goals and short-range programs are designed to accomplish objectives defined by these goals. Programs are evaluated, funded, and altered in accordance with the accomplishment of objectives and the modification of goals. Objectives are defined in terms of student achievement through pre and post test analysis. Data on student achievement is compiled to develop a chronological history.

Project Alter has been a major development in the organizational management and thus affects daily operation both in theory and practice. During the interviews and on the questionnaire we asked individuals in the organization to give their impressions of Project Alter. We first present the questionnaire responses as an overview, then key in on more detailed interview comments. It is critical that we note the fact that questions on the written questionnaire did not ask specifically about Project Alter. Instead we used the generic term for systems like Project Alter. The use of the term "accountability" was intentional. We wanted to know if in fact: (1) People knew what accountability was; (2) People identified accountability with Project Alter; and (3) People knew that they were involved in an accountability system.

We asked the participants what they understood to be the purposes of accountability systems. Forty-six percent said that they had no idea what the purposes were; 17% said the purpose was to produce better teaching and learning; and 15% said the purpose was organizational planning. We asked if people would like to know more about accountability systems. The response was: 73% "yes", 14% "no", and 12% no answer or "not applicable." The strength of interest was evenly distributed among the units of the system. Most of the participants who answered "no" or who left the question blank were in the High School.

When asked why they wanted to know more about accountability, (if they answered "yes" to the above question), 42% had no answer and 31% replied, "Because I don't know the purposes of accountability". We divided the possible responses into two categories: (1) responses indicating interest in the constructive or positive features of accountability and (2) responses inquiring into the destructive or negative features. The High School was the unit most interested in the positive nature of accountability. Webster and Paters responses were largely neutral, indicating a reference for neither positive nor negative features. Within the district 8.4% of those who wanted to know about accountability were interested in the constructive aspects while 10.9% were concerned with the negative aspects. When the staff was asked where they could go to find out more about accountability, 31% didn't know who to go to, 28% said "someone in the central office," and 22% said "someone in the building administration." Thirty-seven percent of the district staff knew they had an accountability system in operation, while 21.8% were sure that one existed, and 34% "were not sure at all."

Similarly, when we asked the people who were sure their district had an accountability system if they were involved, 58% had no answer, 20% said "yes," and 7% answered "no." Of those who indicated they were involved: 37% were in the Webster School, 33% were in the High School, and 20% were in the central office. Of those answering "no" to the same question we found 44% of them were in the High School. Most of the people who answered "not applicable" were also in the High School.

We then asked those <u>who thought they were involved</u> in what ways they were directly involved. Although 75% of the respondents failed to write an answer, only one person circled "not applicable." It is difficult to ascertain exactly how many of those who knew they were involved in accountability did not know in what capacity they were involved. However, 15% of all those responding to the <u>questionnaire</u> were

able to say that they were involved in the planning and budgeting activities of the accountability system. Most who knew how they were involved were in the Webster School. Our inclination is to suggest that most of the 20% who thought they were involved were not sure in what capacity. Two individuals told us they were involved by means of paperwork and three people thought they were involved in the evaluation of teachers. In addition, two people each thought they were involved in evaluating student achievement and generating goals and objectives, while one each considered their role to be management of the system and teaching activities dictated by the system.

We wanted to ascertain if people in the district could evaluate the accountability system. We were told that 70% were unable to rate the system, gave no answer, or circled "not applicable." One person said the system was excellent, 5% said the system was "very good," 4.2% said the system was "average," 5.9% said the system was "fair," and 9.2% said the system was "poor." Within the district over 10% who rated the system gave a positive rating while 19.3% gave the system a negative rating.

In conclusion, we asked people to write suggestions they might make to help the organization achieve its goals. Seventy-three percent were unable to give any suggestions and 8% of the sample suggested <u>better understanding of the roles of teachers</u> and <u>administrators in the accountability system</u>. These responses were fairly evenly divided among the units, although there were a few more in the Paters School and fewest at the Webster School. Seven percent of the respondents said <u>more teacher involvement in the accountability process: planning and evaluation</u>; 33% of those who gave this answer were in the Webster School and in the High School. Of those who wanted to <u>do away with the system</u>, most were in the High School; of those who answered that <u>better materials and procedures should be developed to assess student performance</u>, most were in the Webster School. Of all those who were able to give a suggestion for improving the accountability system 24.4% gave a positive constructive suggestion, while 2.5%

gave a negative suggestion.

Attitudes about Management Systems, Project Alter and Accountability from Interviews

Individuals within the organization were asked specifically during interviews for their impressions of the organization's accountability system. Only one person was unfamiliar with accountability in the organization, while the comments of other individuals suggested widespread familiarity with accountability, specifically Project Alter.

THE WEBSTER AVENUE SCHOOL

Webster has had the longest historic relationship with Project Alter. It was the Webster School that piloted the program two years ago. One administrator commented:

> Alter is making the district more responsible for the results of its activities. The teachers thought it was intended for Harry to get his doctorate. They didn't realize the service to the community the theory behind Alter could serve . . . Teachers will realize that it's going to make us more responsible. They can realize we're all in it together and they can't say it's anyone's fault if the students don't achieve.

A teacher commented; "The teachers' views of management problems are limited. I'm surprised at how far Kepler is along in trying to develop something. The system is growing up in a lot of ways." Another person at the school said; "Alter constrains the role of decision-making and leadership since it's now better organized and there is much more participatory decision-making. At the district level they have to relate to all other schools and deal with more generalized objectives and programs, so the individual schools can't have as much freedom." Another teacher told us that she didn't know the school had an accountability system: "I don't know what it would be. We were told but I'm confused about it." One teacher said: "We have accountability, accountability for children. As far as I know we don't have any specific system. I

give pre and post-tests. Project Cycle is to get community feelings about what will happen, what they want for the child."

THE PATERS SCHOOL

An administrator at the PATERS School suggested that Alter was a great success there: "The behavioral objectives are very important, the teachers think it's great. It's working very well, although there are some snags. It has affected people in a positive way. They enjoy the orientation which has come about. All positive structural change and less burden on the teachers." Another teacher said the district; "has an accountability system. The system is working on it quite diligently, however, the staff doesn't know its purposes and how it works. Staff members are suspect of its utility and it's referred to by people on my staff as 'another thing for Harry's thesis.' Eventually the purposes of Alter will become clear, but heretofore the purposes haven't been clear because of a lack of communication." Another teacher at Halsted commented:

> I haven't heard the term Project Alter, but I've heard a bit about accountability and in the math program there's an accountability system. I think it's because there's a state test in math so there's more of a push to get students up to some standard in that area. This program is linked into the computer and teachers generate objectives, give pre-tests, and find out the deficits you need to teach and approach from that. Its use is to measure the abilities of students as well as teachers. The advantage is that it helps pinpoint the skills and attitudes the kids need to develop.

One teacher said accountability was " . . . getting to understand the weakness of the children and we know what to reinforce now." Another commented: "No we don't [have an accountability system]. I got a memo on Alter today. I've given the Iowa tests but I don't know what it's about." Another teacher said; "I don't believe there's an accountability system. The administration was trying for it. The advantage is that an accountability system would weed out the undesirable teachers and get a maxi-

mum output from everybody."

THE HIGH SCHOOL

The High School has had the least formal experience with accountability. Project Alter has been piloted only in the math program with mixed success, according to the faculty. An administrator summarized Alter as: "A program to individualize instruction, to be able to develop objectives for each school and measure progress and the effectiveness of programs. The idea of Alter is to recycle programs or a program until an achievement level is reached." Another teacher said: "What's an accountability system? I've heard the term but don't understand what it is. I wouldn't say there's one although money is allocated by the department according to the kinds of programs one comes up with. Teacher sentiment would be against an accountability system. The Board of Education would try to force that kind of system on the teachers." Another teacher commented, "Last year we did something for objectives. It might have to do with the community. I've never heard of Project Alter." One teacher said: "I have a slight edge on this. I've been told by Dr. Levine. They'd like to know how much each unit has as costs. Project Alter gave John his big start in b.s. I don't know what the project is. A lot of paperwork with writing objectives, questions, and alternative questions." Another teacher commented, "I'm not 100% sure what accountability is; I think it's evaluation of staff, not just instructional. I didn't like the way the study was presented, the approach was very vague, we were left hanging. It was accepted before [it was] presented to us and then it was 'here you are, you lucky people.' People weren't happy about having to accept it." Similarly, we were told:

> I don't know what an accountability system is. I assume Project Alter is the beginning of one. The math department has been seriously affected; they spend a lot of time working on putting their course objectives into behavioral terms. That work so far hasn't been rewarding. Alter is seen

> as placing large burdens on teachers; they do a lot more work now. Most teachers think it's garbage, junk and a waste of time. I'm not sure that many things that occur at the school are not a consequence of Cycle and accountability will probably never be meaningful at the High School level . . . It will only cause a lot of grief.

Another teacher commented:

> I don't know anything about it really. It hasn't yet been implemented in the High School other than in the math program. The first implication of what it's supposed to do has finally come out after two years of darkness. I think what is going to happen is going to be good. The functions of Project Alter haven't been communicated clearly to the faculty. It's all a question. No one really understands the project. A few, the younger faculty know, they're interested and tend to be willing to accept it. The faculty is generally favorable to the project. It has been slow in evolving. It would be better if it was slow in implementation.

Finally one teacher told us; "I don't know much. I equate accountability with Project Alter. Other people don't know much either. Sonovy keeps it all to himself. It isn't getting any results. Nothing is being fed back to the teachers and no one's using the implications of the testing going on."

THE CENTRAL OFFICE

In previous sections of this case study we have indicated the attitudes of top administrators toward Project Alter. Here we will briefly review these attitudes and add the views of individuals in the central office who have contact with the school units. An assistant superintendent told us:

> We went out into the community for goals. That's probably the most important. One of the goals was individualized instruction . . . defined as programs tailored to the individual learning styles of the student. We're saying that teaching strategies are translated or determined by the way kids learn best. There should be some way of our saying that you would learn a particular subject better, in a particular style, a given way of organizing. We came up with a set of goals for each school, and to back that up, three committees met and developed the system and sent it out to the community for validation. We have an assessing system that presently is becoming fairly sophisticated in a cognitive area; that's assessment of pro-

> grams. You've first got to be comfortable cognitively then get into other areas. Let's say right now that we don't have the tools to measure in the affective domain, there's a lot of stuff that we're using now on the attitudes of teachers. I find that people would use this affective argument as a way of avoiding assessment altogether. We have a management information system based on six years of data; what their reading levels are, health records, grades, attendance, standardized tests, a questionnaire dealing with their parents' hopes and aspirations . . . PPBS is system-wide; program staff develop their own budget and once the budget is passed they're guaranteed the money. The system is a decentralized one of decision-making. The superintendent loses power and you've got to be willing to decentralize that power because money is power.

Others in the central office told us: "Alter was developed to make programs accountable. Teacher performance and students' subsequent learning is measurable. Alter is to allow for accountability to the Board." One other central staff member commented:

> We have accountability through Project Alter, 'John's Thing.' I'm not interested in people and the way they feel. I don't think Alter has had much impact, but what it's had has been negative. He's getting his Ph.D. out of it . . . I don't know what burdens on teachers might be brought about, a lot of time and effort and money has been put in and I don't see anything coming out of it. I seriously doubt whether Project Alter will ultimately justify itself.

b. The Regard of Time

Time is a very important resource in the organization. Currently, it has elicited competition in the GIC schools. Time is of little consequence in the organization as a whole and in relation to the outside world. Kepler is passing through time at its own pace, undaunted by influences requiring immediate remedial planning activities, such as state-mandated T and E. Within the individual units time constraints are exceedingly important. Teachers have a specified number of hours in which to accomplish tasks. Newly imposed structural constraints, like GIC and Alter, have demanded more in the same time span. Highly specified objectives must be reached upon which budgeting is computed. Thus, pressures have increased to get new demands operationalized into

work regiments comfortable to old traditions but adequate to new task demands. For those organizational members who must perform the operations of innovation, time remains a predominate factor in adaptation.

The predominate time focus of the organization is in the past. Teachers in the High School pine for things the way they were before all the discipline problems. They comment that teachers used to be isolated but that now the administration is "always getting into people's lives." Some wish that things could be isolated again, others say they wish things could be "simple" again. Still other teachers in the High School and Webster express confidence in next year's bright future. The central office is also futuristic, but it is concerned about Newton in a changing society with a provincial staff and community. Others are planning-oriented, envisioning notoriety for the district by reducing the inefficiency of school operation through innovation.

Top management devotes much of its time and energy to planning for the contingencies of the future. Through these efforts, the organization acts upon the environment rather than allowing environmental change to dominate organizational growth. In theory and philosophy these energies are well expended and in preparing Kepler for the uncertainty of state-mandated T and E, the central office has planned wisely. However, other components of the organization are not future-oriented and often do not relate to future eventualities. In Webster, known for its innovative leadership, 22% of the faculty indicated that constant change was the school's greatest weakness. This fundamental difference in focus of time precludes the development of an integrated organism. Local settings and tasks are the foci of attention for many in the organization who are not near the point where organizational boundaries meet outside world. Location in the organization is an important factor in time orientation.

c. The Conceptualization of Space

Physical space is very important in the organizational structure; physical facilities are symbolic of favoritism. The Webster Avenue School has the best facilities be-

cause the superintendent is thought to like that school better than Halsted. In the High School the building is symbolic: "[There was] a psychological change in accord with the physical changes. When the building was new all the heating pipes were concealed but they soon corroded and that gave the school a factory atmosphere as if it were very mechanistic . . . the High School became a machine, not a place for compassion, sincerity, and learning." The general sense of pride in the school is lost. Physical conditions are synonymous with atmosphere and climate and, for many, the physical climate is symbolic of what the school accomplishes.

d. Meaning of Work for the Organization

Individuals affiliate themselves with organizations because the goals, tasks. and general nature of the work done by the organization and its members reflect the individual's needs. Some people join organizations to escape reality and responsibility, some to challenge and command the environment. Similarly, work has a variety of meanings in this organization. Service organizations are most often groups committed to providing for others. In this organization the primary emphasis is on helping children. When we asked people what they liked most about their job, 58.8% replied "student contact," 10.9% said "pay and benefits," and 8.4% said "emotional satisfaction." As a second choice, the organization as a whole indicated a social reward, that is "contact with the people I work with." When we asked what they disliked most about their job 21.6% replied "working conditions," (most often hours, materials, and facilities) and 9.2% indicated emotional dissatisfaction. In the central office, this association between student contact and the meaning of work is also prevalent: where 54.5% of the staff suggested that contact with students was what they enjoy most about their work. This revelation is similar to the underlying sense of optimism in emotional mood of the organization. Here, commitment to children is the linking pin within the organization and it is an asset around which concensus should be developed.

Within the central office, unlike the other components of the organization, there is a strong compulsion to initiate tasks in an attempt to "document" what the school was doing and what this process of education is all about. The scientific inquiry tone of central office work is very unique, but, more importantly, it is not shared by the rest of the organization. At the local setting the process of education is guarded by teachers who maintain that what they do in the classroom cannot be quantified merely by pre and post-testing. Adopting this posture, the scientific efforts of central office work are indirectly opposed to the nature of "teaching." Improvement of the organization is a constant interest of all members. However, some have different strategies for improvement. Individuals in local settings suggest that individual instruction, curriculum, and time are important ingredients; while central office management suggests that "our product is thorough and efficient education for our children." To achieve maximum efficiency, this can best be done by establishing objectives, teaching, testing, high budgeting weak areas and low budgeting strong areas.

The different approaches to children can suggest an imbalance of psychological contract between administration and teachers. The psychological contract implies a balance between what is expected, what is accomplished, and what is needed in return The accomplishment of tasks is the machinery through which the expectations and needs of both employer and employee are mutually satisfied. While 56% of the organization felt expectation level was "just right," 21% considered them "unclear" and 10% considered them "too demanding." A variance of 31% in the organization's expectations suggests that some people are not satisfied with the balance of the psychological contract. We feel that an important source of the perceived imbalance is the fundamental difference in approach to serving the needs of children. Teachers are geared to

G. I. C., while the central office is attuned to the economics of teacher/

student ratios. GIC/UAS represents a compromise between the two orientations, incorporating individually guided concerns with program budgeting.

e. Authority, Power and Responsibility

We have repeatedly emphasized the familial structure of the organization; parental authority, sibling rebellion, and rivalry. Within this framework, we seek to understand the organization as it relates to authority, power and responsibility. By authority, we refer to the state of affairs in which one individual has the capacity to change the actions of another. Power is a term describing the amount of force one individual can bring on another to change his actions. Responsibility is the acknowledgement by one person of another's ethical duty to act in a manner beneficial to both.

In relationships with the external environment the organization exhibits all three activities. This can be seen especially in regard to Kepler leadership in education: "It's interesting that 1516, the bill just passed by the Senate a couple of days ago, which is the T and E model for education in New Jersey for years to come, was drafted initially by me . . . The original draft I wrote for the New Salem Association of Administrators, which was used as the first drafts of the legislation. What it is is the process of change we modelled here in Kepler." In another instance, "An NSIC person came to the negotiations (IFR) and ruined the chances. This person looked like a hit man for the Mafia. He badgered the Board verbally and the citizens didn't stand for it . . . he was shot down at the meeting." Within the organization, authority has been transferred though the introduction of IGE structures to the teachers in areas of curriculum. Participatory decision-making has been the outgrowth, usurping a certain amount of local administrators' discretionary power. They find themselves as arbitrators and mediators rather than as leaders. While authority has been centralized in the instructional units on curriculum matters, ultimate administrative authority and

power have been centralized. The computer bank on student achievement has become an important symbol of power because it is immutable to human manipulation. Teachers cannot exert influence over the system other than through sabotage of input; not an unlikely eventuality. Ultimate authority resides with the superintendent who is feared by most in the organization because they feel he is unpredictable and arbitrary. The uncertainty this produces is a large source of his power.

Authority over the community is less oppressive. The social pressures inherent in the educational system are normally neglected by the community until the effects of maladjustment are noticed in the home. Discipline problems, truancy, and permissiveness are associated with the education process regardless of whether the school is actually the source. Communities descend on school districts to change conditions. This is happening in the High School. Community authority resides in the power of the tax dollar, which top administrators perceive as increasingly difficult to obtain.

Responsibility is not shunned by the organization. Teachers are not opposed to being held accountable for their performance but they resist following unclear, arbitrary, and surreptitious "rules of the game." Neither does the central office abdicate responsibility. One administrator commented on the authority, power, and responsibility relationships of the district as follows:

> I feel we must as a profession do a better job at documenting what we are trying to change. If we don't, we're going to lose our profession. We believe that. There's a whole other side of me that says maybe we deserve to lose our profession but I don't listen to that. It's my job to make sure that we don't. With that you get a lot of egg on your face. We do think that most of the staff is for this kind of stuff. They want to prove to themselves, to the kids, and to the community what they are. They see it that way, but they also see a tremendous power for the administration to have. They have their checks and balances. It's new, and many people did not want to be involved, they did not want the responsibility. They wanted to be protected by the principal. They want that which has been traditional, but it can be no longer. I honestly believe that. They're highly paid and very nice people. This is a way for us to get out of the paternalistic business, to give them more authority. We in the administration have become expert in supporting

them and if it doesn't work and it is an instructional problem, it's their fault. If it doesn't work and it's a support problem, then it's our fault.

3. Attitudes About the Self

In this section we investigate the aggregate self-concept of the organization. We seek to understand what the organization thinks of itself; who it thinks it is; and if it's happy with its self-image. In addition, we asked the organization where it thinks it is going. The following self-image of the organization emerged from interviews. Members of the organization contributed the following description of the aggregate self-image:

(1) Sensitive, compassionate, and sincere.

(2) Interested in bettering itself through self-evaluation and criticism.

(3) Easy-going, fairly loose, and unstructured.

(4) Dynamic and changing, but displaying a certain complacency.

(5) Flexible, interesting, frustrated, hopeful of the future.

(6) Having the same qualities as the superintendent.

(7) Caring, happy, and energetic.

Some of the less positive characteristics included: "primitive, not yet civilized; a person at war with himself, but who will ultimately succeed despite himself; depressing with lots of tension; middle-aged and always late, who doesn't mean to harm anyone but is not always sensitive to others; hard of hearing and not always apologetic.

The predominant tone for the future is extremely positive and optimistic. The self-image of the district is essentially healthy, motivated, and energetic. The temporary disturbance in the High School is perceived as interim and with the change of administration all is expected to improve and go well. One person said: ". . . a continuation of the dynamic system properties. The future is great. Changes are being undertaken. Very positive. The teachers are basically happy and excited." Another

commented, "The High School could have a great future primarily because, beginning September 1, 1975 it will have a new principal." Another teacher said, "Very good once the High School changes [and] the school system will have a better image than it does now." Another central office member commented; "Very optimistic, even though the system is small and rural it has a lot going for it." Other comments suggested future concerns for the district. One school administrator said in an interview: "We must have long-range planning. Redistricting should be done. The Paters School is over populated. You've got to get the community involved. The school must be part of the community. There should be intercommunication. Alter will help that. Teachers are basically behind Alter." An elementary teacher added: ". . . depends on who's at the helm. They have a lot to do with housecleaning because Adler hasn't done this yet. The problem is one of money. Wilm's got people who don't have anything to do with teaching, only administration. The townspeople want to know why. A lot of money is being used but they're not sure where."

IV. ANALYSES AND CONCLUSIONS

A. Organizational Integrative Patterns

A consistent premise of this case study has been the biological nature of the organization. We have suggested implicitly that the well-adjusted organization, the healthy organization, is one which has developed the internal integration of its component parts. Integration is the state of nature in which parts of an organization interact in a balanced, interdependent, communicative and constructive manner in the accomplishment of individual tasks linked to organizational goals; develop in aggregate mutually acceptable, although possibly independent mechanisms for discrimination between threat and opportunity; and follow with reactions that are appropriate to the stimulus and beneficial to the organization as a whole. In this section we evaluate

the integrative patterns of this organization.

1. Appraisal of the Effect of the Environment on the Organization

We have shown that intrusion by external influences has violated the equilibrium of the organization. This disequilibrium is the consequence of: (1) variability of component response to external influences, interpreted both as a threat and an opportunity; (2) inadequate organizational machinery for defense, adaptation, or capitalization of external influences into the traditional culture of the organization; and (3) resultant unrealistic and inappropriate reaction by organizational components to external stimuli, as perceived by other components. This condition has furthermore resulted in alienation among members of the organization, whose differing "point of view," level of abstraction, local or cosmopolitan orientation, time attachment (present or future), work language, and task characteristics have further exacerbated integrated component relationships. These patterns are not historical; they have emerged in recent years concurrent with Kepler's expansion into the suburban culture and the synthesis of educational innovation and experimentation with traditional patterns of instruction. While it is our observation that current tensions, (e.g. High School unrest and contract negotiations), will subside as the organization "breaks in" new social patterns, we suggest that the organization will continue in disequilibrium unless patterns of interactive efforts are enhanced and made flexible to intraorganizational variability. Individual differences must be communicated and welded into organizational concensus and resulting policies. Only in this way can external influences be effectively manipulated for mutual benefit of all organizational components and thus for the benefit of the organization as a whole.

2. Appraisal of the Effect of the Organization on the Environment

The effect of the organization on the external environment can be seen from two perspectives. First, from the local setting, the organization has little effect on

the outside world other than its immediate community, which we feel to be an appendage of the organization. The nature of tasks and structure of the work environment mitigate contact with the outside environment. Few resources from the outside world are necessary to accomplish sub-organizational tasks. The process of teaching occurs within the classroom between student and teacher, with little reliance on the outside world for definition and support. At the district level the perception exists that the organization has a strong effect on the outside world. The recent adoption of a skeletal plan for state-wide T & E by the legislature and the validation of Kepler's Project Alter evidence the organization's ability to influence the external environment.

What is not made clear in the organization is the ownership of such accomplishments. While the central office repeatedly lays claim to Alter and the state model of T & E, ownership of innovation success is clearly an organizational triumph. Innovations are the product of design, implementation, operationalization, alteration, and perpetuity. These processes are not manipulated or monopolized by any one component of the organization but instead are mutually owned for the benefit of all. The success of Project Alter, reflected in its state validation, is clearly less recognized within the boundaries of the organization. Although all the functional activities listed above were part of Project Alter, the key area neglected was "need" and its companions "ownership" and mutual "benefit." These important dynamic functions were neglected by top management in the implementation of Project Alter. We suggest that effective articulation of these functions would help dissipate the psychological void between the components of the organization. We believe Project Alter is an organizational asset; an example of exceptional planning and foresight for the future of the organization. Although currently a source of inhibition to integrative patterns, the long range effect of Cycle will ironically be positive and conducive to organizational integration. Success is contingent, however, upon resolution of organizational "need," "ownership," and "mutual

adaptation and benefit" of Project Cycle.

3. Reactions to the Environment

The organization has reacted reluctantly to the environment in response to the perceived external threat and opportunity. One asset is general agreement within the organization that the primary responsibility must be preparation of young people for productive lives in a fluctuating environment. The quality of instruction in Newton is such that this goal will confidently be achieved. The organization as a whole has less effectively practiced self-instruction in the same skills. Rather than organization-wide, integrated response to external influence, reaction has been characterized by differentiated and incremental action. Some components have displayed sensitivity to long range threat and opportunity and have expediently reacted with responsible, viable policy. Unfortunately, they have ignored the needs and differing perceptions of other organizational components. Similarly, some sub-units have reacted to external intrusion with haste, haphazard and arbitrary planning, and the same neglect of "point of view" or perception within other units.

4. Reactions from the Organization

Approaches to the interpretation and subsequent planning of defensive, adaptive strategies in response to external intrusion elicit counter reactions from the external environment. These reactions can be both positive and negative, beneficial and injurious, to the organization's health. The reaction of the NSIC to both implicit and explicit rebuff by the organization (Board, central office, and community) exerted an influence in Sawyer Representatives from the NSIC were sent to the organization to aid and support the KTA cause. However, this resulted in verbal confrontation between groups and ultimate dismissal of NSIC from Kepler politics. The central office sensed the coming of T & E and was thus motivated to design and initiate their own

system. The MSIC responded negatively to this, and we feel justifiably so, because the designers of Cycle once again failed to adequately communicate their rationale. Therefore, inaccurate rumors circulated as to the surreptitious and malevolent intentions of Project Alter.

5. Appraisal of the Organization

a. Organizational Assets

The ability of an organization to develop and maintain mechanisms effective in manipulating the external environment to meet its needs is determined, in part, by the organization's assets and liabilities. The organization under study has both strengths and weaknesses that will affect its ability to maintain equilibrium in light of constant environmental change.

A fundamental asset of the organization is its commitment to the preparation of children for the rigors of life in a changing society. This commitment is inherent to service organizations, but in Kepler its consistency and intensity constitute a fundamental integrative pattern. The pattern is, in fact, so fundamental that the organization is not explicitly aware of it. The organization is endowed with a ubiquitous emotional posture of optimism for the future, supported by an inordinate level of organizational energy. These assets are significant to the development of integrative patterns.

The organization has an important ability to capture the attention of funding agencies for support of experimentation. Project Alter, GIC, and a variety of other programs like the Child Study approach have been made possible through Kepler's talent for appropriating grant money.

Perhaps the most important asset of the organization are the members themselves. At the local setting are teachers and administrators who are, in our opinion, professional, energetic, and committed to education. At the district level are individuals

with planning and budgeting skills, both crucial to the future of the organization. And on the periphery of the organization, the community and Board of Education provide necessary feedback with regard to organizational policies, goals, and actions. We feel these assets are taken for granted by the organization, are lost sight of in the expanding energy on automation and mechanization of organizational tasks.

The development of computer technology and formal management systems need not preclude sensitivity to the human element in organizations. However, the design and implementation of management systems with their mechanical paraphernalia often reflect a lack of concern for those individuals who must: (1) associate and accept a need for change; (2) fit the innovation to the character, location, abstraction, and complexity of the work they do; and (3) reassure themselves that the innovation will not result in uncertainty in their environment. This means that the changed expectations brought about by innovation will be offset by increased psychological and physical resources. However, these concerns are often neglected by managers more geared to technological concepts.

We consider the data-based Management Information System to be an organizational asset because access to systematic record-keeping and data analysis will help the organization more efficiently chart its growth and plan for its future. We do suggest, however, that technology is largely mystical for many people. For this reason we feel that intensive technological innovations demand simplification of presentation and (more importantly) of operation. We believe the GIC/UAS structure in the Webster and Paters Schools will ultimately prove to be organizational assets despite current negativism. We feel this way because the GIC concept reduces the level of isolation in the teaching process and develops participatory decision-making. The consequence of this is the establishment of a sense of work flow and the interdependence and integration of individual tasks. People in the organization come to depend upon each other for the

effective accomplishment of important tasks. The flow of interdependent activities is critical to the overall achievement of success within the instructional units. This system of interrelationships is important to the enrichment and perpetuation of integrative patterns synonymous with the healthy organization.

b. Organizational Impairments

The impairments of the organization are primarily related to intra-organizational variability; the components of the organization and groups within the sub-units are differentiated with strong polarity. We feel that intra-organizational differences should be communicated with a commitment to mutual adaptability, and sensitivity to the underlying organizational ethic of service to children. Intra-organizational differences fall broadly into two types:

(1) Differences related to the composite personality of the sub-unit:

a. Inward versus outward orientation in relation to the external environment.

b. Organization settings of sub-units.

c. Level of abstraction of work and the processes of task accomplishment.

d. Work language.

e. "Point of view."

f. Sibling rivalry.

g. Meaning of the organization to the sub-unit; its role.

h. Planning versus operation bias of management and labor.

i. Perceptions of appropriate interpretations to external intrusion and reaction.

j. Direction orientation: past, present, or future.

k. Paternal top management.

l. Concensus development of organizational goals within the context of individual needs; both sub-unit and individual.

m. Utilization of the wealth of knowledge of operational problems from teachers,

critical to the design and alteration of present and future innovations.

(2) Differences resulting from individual organization members, relating to both internal and external environment:

a. In the meaning of work.

b. In the meaning and role of the organization in satisfying one's needs.

c. Perceptions of reality and resulting actions.

d. Direction orientation; present, future, or past.

e. Sensation of the velocity and content of change.

f. Traditional isolation of teachers and contemporary participatory decision-making.

g. "Broker" role of building administrators and traditional leadership functions.

h. Feeling of loss of control over the teaching process to technology, to the computer.

i. Levels of comfort and certainty in relations to technology.

j. Sensitivity to traditionalism and change.

k. Teacher centrality in the decision-making process (unnoticed).

l. Ownership, need for rationale, benefit of change for the individual.

m. Level of uncertainty in relationship to external environment corresponding to conditions within the local sub-unit.

We feel these factors are important links in bridging the integration gap between organizational su-units, sub-groups, and the organization as a whole, while emphasizing the importance of preserving the local setting.

c. Level of Integration

We have referred to integration as a state in which the organization reacts to its internal and external environment in a variety of patterns. Organizations may perceive the environment as threatening and thus defend themselves or perceive the environment as beneficial and thus synthesize or capitalize on the opportunity. Finally, the or-

ganization may succumb to overwhelming pressures from its environment and thus become the captive of its environment. Organizations that direct all their energies in any one of these three reactive patterns have not integrated with the environment in a manner conducive to equilibrium maintenance. Those organizations that are flexible, adaptive, and dominant within their internal and external environments are capable of discriminating between threat and opportunity and reacting appropriately to the stimulus. An organization's capacity for appropriate action also depends on the level of internal integration. The component parts of the organization must function as a whole, collectively interpreting and acting on the environment. While individual differences maintain the dynamic nature of the organization, if not seen as functional adaptation inputs they will result in low integration within the organization. We seek here to illustrate those activities carried on by the organization that help it to adjust to the internal and external environment.

In local settings there are four group processes that help the organization adjust to environmental variations. First, the GIC/UAS instructional units school structure provides participatory decision-making opportunities for organizational members. This reduces isolation and helps the organizational components become aware of their aggregate needs, personalities, and concerns. Second, the school administrator's role as a sub-unit leader and coordinator of school activities, concurrent with the role of district administrator, helps the local sub-groups reconcile their needs and concerns with the organization as a whole. Third, the PIC and other district forums help the system integrate groups within each sub-unit. Finally, we suggest that the NTA is an important integrative group since it articulates teacher needs and concerns in a manner palatable to other organizational components. Project Alter can be an important adaptive mechanism for the organization in light of state-legislated thorough and efficient education. We have noted earlier our feeling that considerable foresight and

concern for the organization's future is inherent in Alter's concept. The normal everyday activities of the organization are important in maintaining consistency. Professional teaching is a fundamental adaptive activity of the organization in that it is thought to result in better prepared children. Educational quality is thus maintained, and the organization is insulated from external threats demanding change. Along these lines, testing and evaluation help maintain quality, while innovative curriculum and facilities ensure continued growth. Highly intense environmental pressures can cause a breakdown in normal activities. The central office crusade against inefficiency, manifested in reliance on the science and technology of accountability, has raised the teacher's level of perceived threat. This, in combination with the organization's familial conflict between sibling and parent, has resulted in a shift to teacher militance.

First Order Adaptive Activities

Some organizational activities are temporary and represent exaggerated reactions to internal and external intrusion, such as over-reaction to the coffee klatches and newspaper advertising campaign set up by the KTA in opposition to supposed arbitrary administrative decision-making with regard to IFR. Central office reliance on outside evaluation of Project Alter by university research for generating credibility is another example.

Overall Effectiveness and Facade

We commented earlier that one research staff member noticed in early observations of the organization a facade of "all is well," and in the opinion of the central staff, current unrest was the result of the RIF controversy. We feel this facade still exists after careful examination of additional experiences in the organization. Kepler is an innovative school system, with modern facilities, progressive leaders, and a capable

faculty; yet innovation is equated with stability and equilibrium with the environment. While conceptually a viable premise for the long-term, in the contemporary activities and tasks of the organization innovation and change are factors inhibiting equilibrium. We feel this to be a continuing problem of the organization, a reality gap which it must come to deal with.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX A:

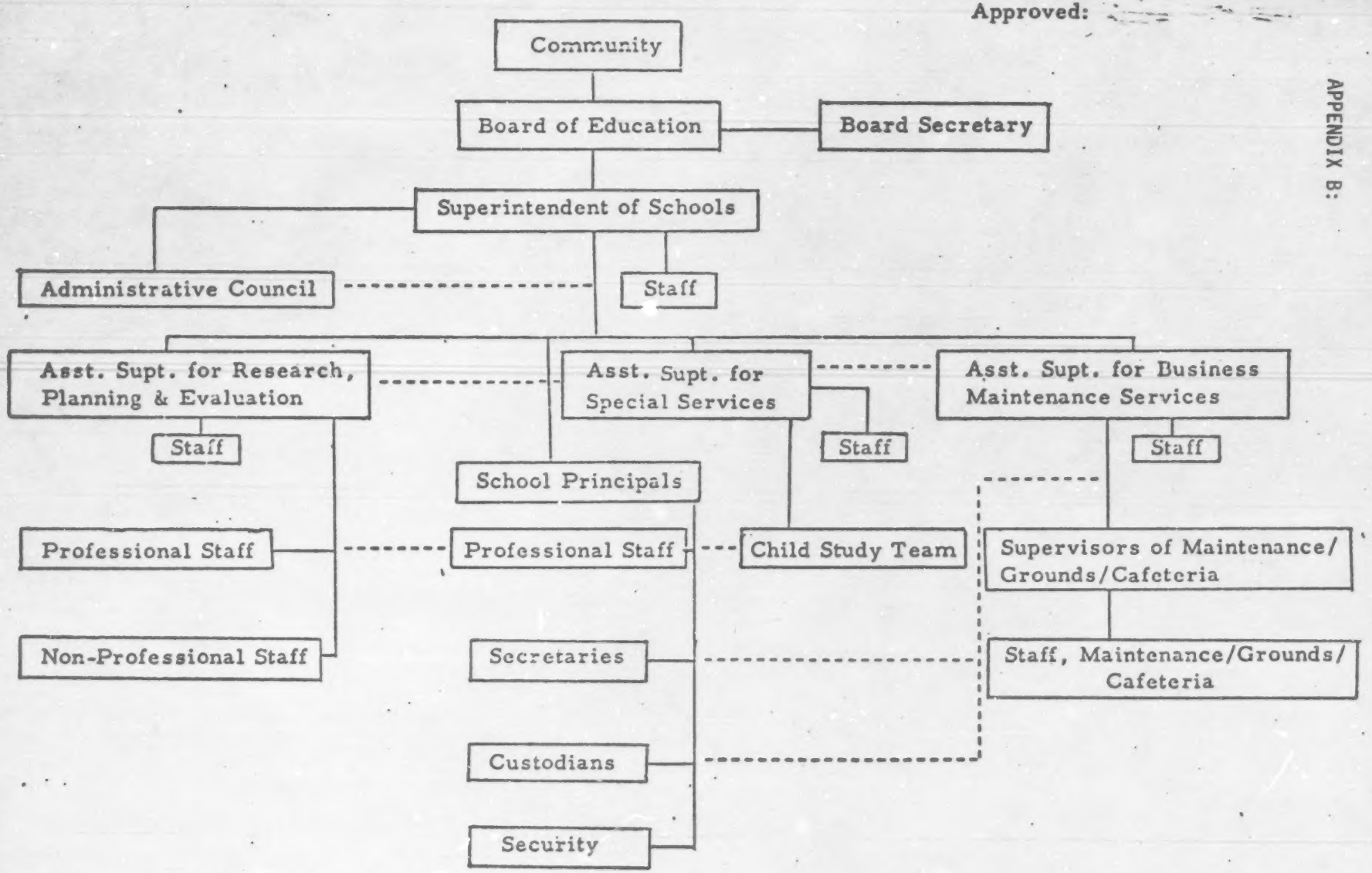
INTERVIEW MATRIX

		MALE		FEMALE		
		Black	White	Black	White	
TENURED	B.A.					B.A.
	B.A. + 30					B.A. + 30
NON-TENURED	B.A.					B.A.
	B.A. + 30					B.A. + 30
		MALE		FEMALE		

APPENDIX B:

Kepler Organization Chart

Approved: _____



APPENDIX C: Communication Patterns in the Organization

Information in this appendix briefly describes the data analysis conducted in developing understanding of the communication patterns in the organization. This information is a guide for the reader, a tool with which the scope and appropriateness of data utilization may be observed. It is organized by data source with note of particularly relevent indicators of communication activity.

1. The General Questionnaire

   From the general questionnaire, filled out and returned by members of the central office, the staff was provided with documents illustrating the formal channels of communication between central office and the sub-units.

2. The Individual Questionnaire

   Excerpted Questions:

   13. How does the community feel about you school?
   17. What are the three things that your school is working hardest for at this time?
   18. What three recommendations would you make to your school that would help achieve its goals?
   25. How would you know when you are doing your job well?
   26. How would you know when you are not doing your job well?
   34. If problems come up in doing your job, how much help do you get in handling those problems?
   35. Which one of the following would you find most helpful in working out problems connected with your job?
   36. In doing your job, how much contact do you have with others in your work unit?
   37. In doing your job, how much contact do you have with others within your school district?
   38. In doing your job, how much contact do you have with others outside your school district?
   39. In connection with your job, would you like to have: more, same or less amount of contact with others?
   40. How well do you like the people in the school district that you work or have contact with?
   41. How would you rate the way the people you work with get along?
   42. With regard to yourself and your fellow workers, would you prefer: closer, the way it is or less close relationships?
   43. If you had a complaint or "gripe" about something connected with your job, whose attention would you bring it to first?
   45. How would you rate the cooperation you usually get from others in the school?
   49. Considering what the school district expects of you in your job and the conditions under which you work, do you think the school district expects too much, about what is right or expects too little?

50. How well does your administrative supervisor and those above him understand the technical problems you face in doing your work?
52. List the three things you like least about your job.
53. How much chance do you have for visiting with others in the school district during or after working hours?
54. How many people in the school district do you consider to be your personal friends?
62. Where do you most often learn what is going on in the school district?
63. How free do you feel about talking over job problems with your administrative supervisor?
64. How free do you feel about talking over job problems with the person above your administrative supervisor?
67. How much consideration are your ideas or suggestions given by your school?
70. If there was a conflict or difference of opinion in which you were involved, how much fairness do you think your school would show you?
71. If you had a serious personal problem that interfered with your work, how much consideration do you think you would get from your school?
77. If you could make changes that would make the school a better place for you to work, what three changes would be most important to you?

Relevancy of questions was based upon:

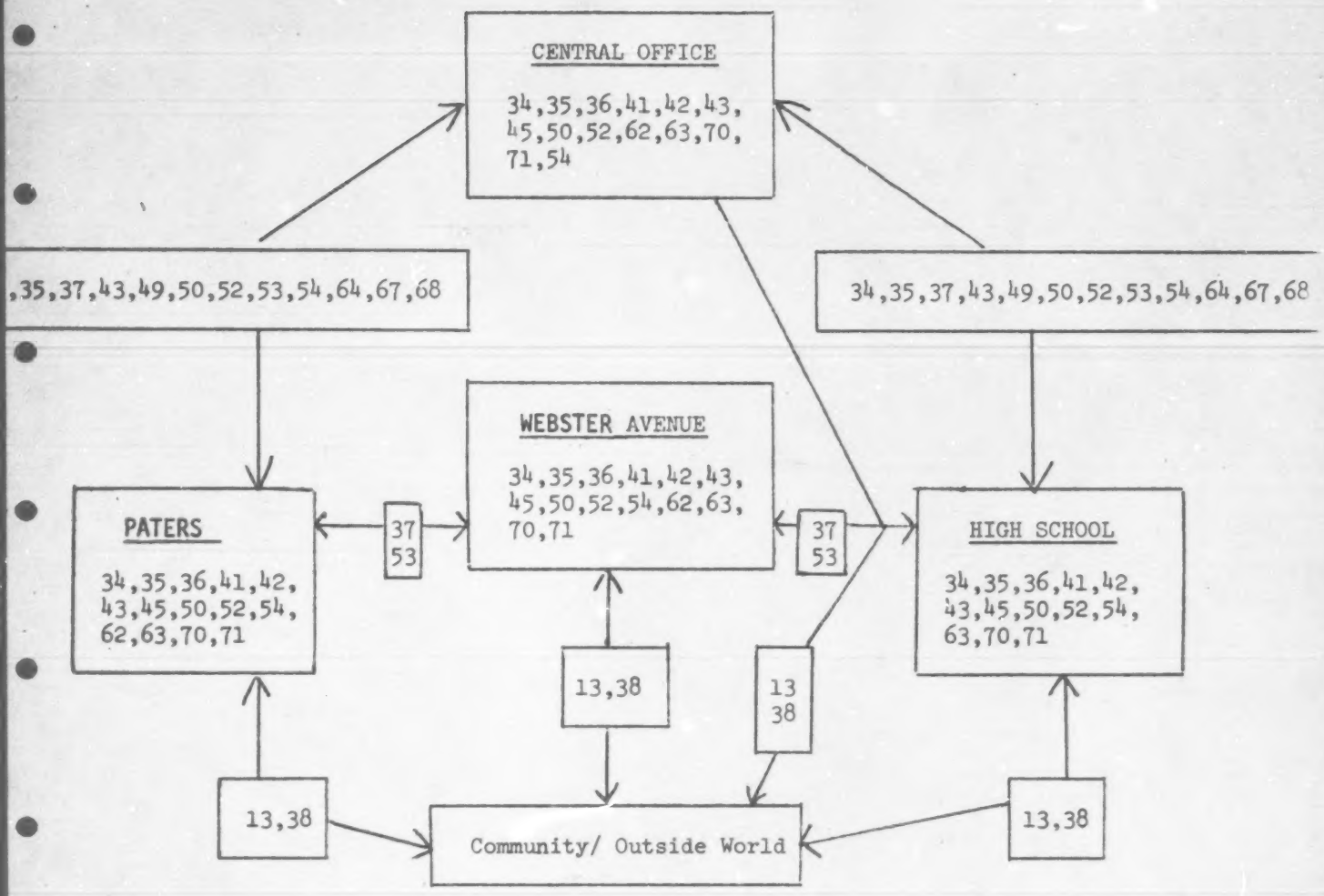
(1) Does the question suggest what, where, and when people communicate?

(2) Does the question suggest preferences for communication?

(3) Does the question aske if communication is a problem or strength, where and when?

(4) Does the question suggest characteristics of relationships that inhibit or ease communication?

(5) Does the question directly ask about communication channels?



The following questions are relevant to all relationships or channels:

18,25,26,39,40,46,47,62,77

3. The Individual Interviews

Excerpted questions:

1. What ways are there to find out what's going on around here? (Any others?)
2. How does the school system keep up with what's going on elsewhere? What kind of thing is it most interested in keeping up with? (Note "things" is plural.)
3. How does the school system make use of a person's experience and ideas? (Give examples.)
4. What does the school system say it stands for? How does it get its message across? (Both what media and how effectively?) What do outsiders think of the school system? (Please specify which groups have which attitudes.) Why? (For each.) How do you know?
5. Tell me what is done to help a person along once he starts to work in this school system. (Anything else?) With respect to helping a person along, how does the school system get people started? What happened to you when you got started; and when did you start? How much and what kind of training do people get?
6. Tell me about the people here. How are they to work with? (Why?)
7. How do you find out how you are doing at your job? What happens when Problems come up? (Give me some examples.) What kind of help can you look for and from whom?

4. The Individual Diaries of Research Staff Members

Again the diaries kept by staff researchers of observations at host locations proved valuable in assembling chronological order and significance to events in the organization's life. Here especially, staff members drew from recollections of interpersonal contacts and the nature of subunit communication substantiating or refuting trends uncovered in the analysis of previous and more seminal data.

APPENDIX D:

N I E Accountability Project

General Questionnaire

Information supplied by _____

1. Please describe as precisely as possible the following characteristics of the school system:

_____ a. the geographic location and the size of the system and its catchment area

_____ b. the size of the school system, including listing and location of physical plant units, number of personnel and student population (for "a" and "b" above, where available, supply maps and charts)

_____ c. any available information on the demographic characteristics of the student population with special attention to ethnic/racial background and socio-economic status

_____ d. date of establishment of the district. If this date is within the last 15 years or if the district has been in a split or merger in the same period of time, please describe the circumstances of the founding - split-merger

The above information may be supplied by providing relevant existing documents of the school district; in fact this method is preferred. Please prepare new descriptive material only where existing documents are unavailable. Please check off each of the above items to show that the applicable information has been supplied.

N I E Accountability Project

General Questionnaire

Information supplied by _____

2. Please describe as precisely as possible (supplying relevant existing documents) the relationship between the school system and local government:

_____ a. describe the procedure whereby members of the school board attain that office; give the term of office and renewal regulations

_____ b. give the names, backgrounds and occupations of the members of the school board and each member's length of service

_____ c. describe the process whereby funds are allocated by governmental agencies, including local government, for the operation of the school system

_____ d. aside from funding, what other kinds of decisions about the functioning of the school system must be made or approved above the level of the superintendent

The above information may be supplied by providing relevant existing documents of the school district; in fact this method is preferred. Please prepare new descriptive material only where existing documents are unavailable. Please check off each of the above items to show that the applicable information has been supplied.

N I E Accountability Project

General Questionnaire

Information supplied by _____

3. Please describe as precisely as possible (supplying relevant existing documents) the management procedures utilized by the superintendent and his subordinates in the operation of the school system:

_____ a. management system; if a formal system is used, please identify (e.g. MBO, PPBS, etc.)

_____ b. developments leading to the initiation of the present system, changes in an existing system, or the abandonment of a formal system

_____ c. please describe the means of formal communication within the school system, e.g., regularly scheduled meetings, bulletins-memos, manuals, suggestion box, evaluation procedures, P.A. announcements, reports, etc.

The above information may be supplied by providing relevant existing documents of the school district; in fact this method is preferred. Please prepare new descriptive material only where existing documents are unavailable. Please check off each of the above items to show that the applicable information has been supplied.

N I E Accountability Project

General Questionnaire

Information supplied by _____

4. Please describe as precisely as possible (supplying relevant existing documents) the budget

_____ a. the process whereby decisions are made about budgeting allocations, dispersment procedures and accounting procedures

_____ b. please supply an elaborate and detailed budget document

The above information may be supplied by providing relevant existing documents of the school district; in fact this method is preferred. Please prepare new descriptive material only where existing documents are unavailable. Please check off each of the above items to show that the applicable information has been supplied.

N I E Accountability Project

General Questionnaire

Information supplied by _____

5. Please describe as precisely as possible (supplying relevant existing documents) the formal organization of the district:

_____ a. positions and structural divisions of the district management
_____ b. nature and size of the principal working units of the district. e.g., schools, district-wide departments of instruction, special services, etc.
_____ c. organization chart and job specifications of administrative positions, noting any positions that are or may be held simultaneously by the same person
_____ d. if the above represents the results of recent changes, please describe these changes

The above information may be supplied by providing relevant existing documents of the school district; in fact this method is preferred. Please prepare new descriptive material only where existing documents are unavailable. Please check off each of the above items to show that the applicable information has been supplied.

N I E Accountability Project

General Questionnaire

Information supplied by _____

6. Please describe as precisely as possible (supplying relevant existing documents) the distribution of instructional and administrative personnel according to:

_____ a. age
_____ b. sex
_____ c. race
_____ d. highest degree attained
_____ e. length of service
_____ f. source of recruitment (from college or with previous experience; if there is a source that has provided a significant number of your teachers, please identify this source

The above information may be supplied by providing relevant existing documents of the school district; in fact this method is preferred. Please prepare new descriptive material only where existing documents are unavailable. Please check off each of the above items to show that the applicable information has been supplied.

N I E Accountability Project

General Questionnaire

Information supplied by _____

7. Please describe as precisely as possible (supplying relevant existing documents) the district's personnel policy for administrative and instructional staff:

_____ a. list the position titles that exist in the district giving the prerequisites for appointment to each

_____ b. describe the district's policy for advancement, promotions and tenure

_____ c. give the district's salary schedule for each title indicating the basis for increments, e.g., education, length of service, etc.

_____ d. what teachers union or association exists in the district; how long has it been active?

_____ e. which personnel policies are based upon a contract with the union or association?

The above information may be supplied by providing relevant existing documents of the school district; in fact this method is preferred. Please prepare new descriptive material only where existing documents are unavailable. Please check off each of the above items to show that the applicable information has been supplied.

APPENDIX E:

Accountability Research Project

District Number _____(1)

Unit Number _____(2)

Questionnaire _____(3,4)

Written Questionnaire

We would like to know more about how people feel about their school district and their job. We do not need to know who you are personally, so please do not sign the questionnaire.

Most of the questions ask that you circle one of the answers; however some of the questions ask that you write the answer in the space provided. The value of the study depends on how openly and carefully you answer the questions. There are no right or wrong answers; this is not a test. Please be sure to answer all the questions. Thank you for your cooperation.

I. Some Things About Yourself

1. What is your title or position in the school system? _____(5)

   _____

   _____

2. How long have you worked at your present job? _____ _____(6,7)

3. What other jobs have you held in the school system? _____ _____(8,9)

   _____

   _____

4. Indicate your level of professional training. (circle number) _____(10)

   1. Associate Degree
   2. B.A.
   3. M.A.
   4. Doctorate
   5. Other (Specify) _____

5. How old are you? (circle number) _____(11)

   1. 18 - 21
   2. 22 - 25
   3. 26 - 30
   4. 31 - 40
   5. 41 - 50
   6. 51 - 60
   7. Over 60

6. Sex (circle number) _____(12)

   1. Male
   2. Female

II. Where You Work

7. Where do you work? (School, Superintendent's Office, School office, etc.) _____(13)

   _____

8. In the last 5 years, how much has your school grown in size? (circle number) _____(14)

1. A great deal
2. Somewhat
3. Not at all
4. Don't know

9. How much has your school changed in the last 5 years other than in size? (circle number) _____(15)

1. A great deal
2. Somewhat
3. Not at all
4. Don't know

10. What change is most noticeable in your school? (circle number) _____(16)

1. Students
2. Faculty
3. Curriculum
4. Budget
5. Administration
6. My Responsibilities
7. Other (Specify)

_____

_____

11. How would you rate your school compared to others of its type in this district? (circle number) _____(17)

1. The very best
2. Above average
3. Average
4. Below average
5. The very worst
6. My unit is the only one of its type, ie., school, office

12. How would you rate your school, compared to similar schools in other systems you know about? (circle number) _____(18)

1. The very best
2. Above average
3. Average
4. Below average
5. The very worst

13. How does the community feel about your school? (circle number) _____(19)

1. Very friendly towards it
2. Neither friendly nor unfriendly
3. Unfriendly towards it
4. Don't know

14. What do you consider to be the most important service provided by your school? _____(20)

_____

_____

15. What is your school's greatest strength in providing this service? _____(21)

_____

_____

16. What is your school's greatest weakness in providing this service? _____(22)

_____

_____

17. What are the three things that your school is working hardest for at this time? _____(23-25)

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

18. What three recommendations would you make to your school that would help achieve its goals? _____(26-28)

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

III. Your Job

19. What are the main duties of your job? _____ _____(29-31)

_____

_____

_____

20. How important is your job in your school? (circle number) _____(32)

1. Among the most important
2. Very important
3. Necessary, but not particularly important
4. Unimportant
5. Don't know

21. How important is your job in the school district? (circle number) _____(33)

1. Among the most important
2. Very important
3. Necessary, but not particularly important
4. Unimportant
5. Don't know

22. How much administrative supervision do you get?(Principal, vice-Principal or Superintendent) (circle number) _____(34)

1. A great deal
2. A fair amount
3. Very little
4. None

23. How would you rate the administrative supervision you get? (circle number) _____(35)

1. Excellent
2. Good
3. Fair
4. Poor

24. With regard to administrative supervision, would you like to have: (circle number) _____(36)

1. More
2. Same
3. Less

25. How would you know when you are doing your job well? _____(37)

_____

_____

26. How would you know when you are not doing your job well? _____(38)

_____

_____

27. How would you rate the physical conditions under which you do your job? (circle number) _____(39)

1. Excellent
2. Good
3. Fair
4. Poor

28. How would you rate the pay and other benefits you receive as compared to those doing the same kind of work in other similar school units you know of? (circle number) _____(40)

1. Above average
2. Average
3. Below average

29. How sure do you feel of having a permament job? (circle number) _____(41)

1. Very sure
2. Quite sure
3. Have no idea
4. Rather unsure
5. Very unsure

30. What is the most important factor that determines the permanency of your job? _____(42)

_____

_____

31. How much additional training for your job has your school district provided? (circle number) _____(43)

1. A great deal
2. A fair amount
3. Very little
4. None

32. With regard to job training, would you like to have: (circle number) _____(44)

1. More 2. Same 3. Less

33. How much freedom do you have in planning and doing your work? (circle number) _____(45)

1. A great deal
2. A fair amount
3. Very little
4. None

34. If problems come up in doing your job, how much help do you get in handling those problems? (circle number) _____(46)

1. A great deal
2. A fair amount
3. Very little
4. None

35. Which one of the following would you find most helpful in working out problems connected with your job? (circle number) _____(47)

1. Your immediate administrative supervisor
2. The person above your supervisor
3. One of your fellow workers
4. One of your subordinates
5. Unit Leader or Dept. Chairman
6. Other (specify)

_____

_____

36. In doing your job, how much contact do you have with others in your school? (circle number) _____(48)

1. A great deal
2. A fair amount
3. Very little
4. None

37. In doing your job, how much contact do you have with others within your school district? (circle number) _____(49)

1. A great deal
2. A fair amount
3. Very little
4. None

38. In doing your job, how much contact do you have with others outside your school district? (circle number) _____(50)

1. A great deal
2. A fair amount
3. Very little
4. None

39. In connection with your job, would you like to have: (circle number) _____(51)

1. More contact with others
2. The same amount of contact
3. Less contact with others

40. How well do you like the people in the school district that you work or have contact with? (circle number) _____(52)

1. A great deal
2. Rather well
3. Very little
4. Not at all

41. How would you rate the way the people you work with get along? (circle number) _____(53)

1. Very close and friendly
2. Quite friendly
3. Distant but not unfriendly
4. Rather unfriendly
5. Very unfriendly

42. With regard to yourself and your fellow workers, would you prefer: (circle number) _____(54)

1. Closer relationships
2. The way it is now
3. Less close relationships

43. If you had a complaint or "gripe" about something connected with your job, whose attention would you bring it to first? (circle number) _____(55)

1. Unit leader or Department chairman
2. Your administrative supervisor
3. The person above your supervisor
4. One of your fellow workers
5. Association representative
6. One of the top administrators
7. Someone outside the school system
8. Would keep it to yourself

44. When changes are to be made which affect your job, how much are you consulted? (circle number) _____(56)

1. Always
2. Usually
3. Seldom
4. Never

45. How would you rate the cooperation you usually get from others in the school? (circle number) _____(57)

1. Excellent
2. Good
3. Fair
4. Poor

46. In a typical day, how much tension and friction is there among the people in your school? (circle number) _____(58)

1. A great deal
2. A fair amount
3. Very little
4. None

47. How much tension and friction is there between your school and other schools in the district? (circle number) _____(59)

1. A great deal
2. A fair amount
3. Very little
4. None

48. How would you rate the planning, organizing, and scheduling of the work in your school? (circle number) _____(60)

1. Excellent
2. Good
3. Average
4. Poor

49. Considering what the school district expects of you in your job and the conditions under which you work, do you think the school district: (circle number) _____(61)

1. Expects too much
2. Expects about what is right
3. Expects very little
4. Fails to make expectations clear

50. How well does your administrative supervisor and those above him understand the technical problems you face in doing your work? (circle number) _____(62)

1. Very well
2. Rather well
3. Not very well
4. Not at all
5. My supervisor understands, but those above don't
6. My supervisor doesn't understand, but those above him do

51. List the three things you like most about your job. _____(63-65)

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____

52. List the three things you like least about your job. _____(66-68)

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____

53. How much chance do you have for visiting with others in the school district during or after working hours? (circle number) _____(69)

1. A great deal
2. A fair amount
3. Very little
4. None

54. How many people in the school district do you consider to be your personal friends? (circle number) _____(70)

1. 10 or more
2. 5 to 10
3. 3 to 5
4. 1 to 2
5. None

55. If you were to change jobs in the school district, which job would you like to have? _____(71)

_____

_____

56. How good do you think the chances are for your getting a better job in the school district? (circle number) _____(72)

1. Excellent
2. Good
3. Fair
4. Poor

57. How much do you think the school district would help you in preparing for a better job? (circle number) _____(73)

1. As much as possible
2. Quite a bit
3. Very little
4. Not at all

58. How good is the work done by your school compared to other schools in the school district? (circle number) _____(74)

1. The very best
2. As good as most
3. Below average
4. The very worst
5. My school is the only one of its type in the district

59. How would you rate the working conditions in your school compared to other schools in the school district? (circle number) _____(75)

1. The very best
2. As good as most
3. Below average
4. The very worst

60. Who makes the most important decisions in your school? (circle number) _____(76)

1. Your administrative supervisor
2. The person above your supervisor
3. Top administrators
4. Your subordinates
5. The school as a whole
6. Unit leader or Department chairman
7. Don't know

61. How much turnover have you had in your school during the past two years? (circle number) _____(77)

1. A great deal
2. A fair amount
3. Very little
4. None

62. Where do you most often learn what is going on in the school district? (circle number) _____(78)

1. Official bulletins
2. Your administrative supervisor
3. Your fellow workers
4. Your subordinates
5. People outside the school
6. Newspapers
7. Rumors, the "grapevine"

63. How free do you feel about talking over job problems with your administrative supervisor? (circle number) _____(79)

1. Very free
2. Fairly free
3. Not very free
4. Not at all free

CARD #1 (80)

CARD #2

District Number _____(1)
Unit Number _____(2)
Questionnaire _____(3,4)

64. How free do you feel about talking over job problems with the person above your administrative supervisor? (circle number) _____(5)

1. Very free
2. Fairly free
3. Not very free
4. Not at all free

65. How would you rate the people who run your school as to ability? (circle number) _____(6)

1. Excellent
2. Good
3. Fair
4. Poor

66. How would you rate the people who run your school district as to ability? (circle number) _____(7)

1. Excellent
2. Good
3. Fair
4. Poor

67. How much consideration are your ideas or suggestions given by your school? (circle number) _____(8)

1. A great deal
2. Somewhat
3. Very little
4. Not at all

68. How much consideration are your ideas or suggestions given by your school district? (circle number) _____(9)

1. A great deal
2. Somewhat
3. Very little
4. Not at all

69. If, because of unusual problems, your school needed you to perform extra duties or work longer hours, would you: (circle number) _____(10)

1. Volunteer gladly
2. Wait to be asked
3. Not mind being asked
4. Rather not be asked
5. Refuse, if possible

70. If there was a conflict or difference of opinion in which you were involved, how much fairness do you think your school would show you? (circle number) _____(11)

1. A great deal
2. A fair amount
3. Very litle
4. None

71. If you had a serious personal problem that interfered with your work, how much consideration do you think you would get from your school? (circle number) _____(12)

1. A great deal
2. A fair amount
3. Very little
4. None

72. How would you rate the strictness of the rules of the school district? (circle number) _____(13)

1. Very strict
2. Average
3. Somewhat easygoing
4. Very easygoing

73. With regard to strictness of rules, would you like: (circle number) _____(14)

1. More strictness
2. The same
3. Less strictness

74. How much do you think the school district is interested in your welfare? (circle number) _____(15)

1. Very much
2. Quite interested
3. Not very interested
4. Not at all interested

75. Would you recommend to a friend that he work for this school district? (circle number) _____(16)

1. Yes
2. No

76. Thinking ahead five years, would you want to be working for this school district? (circle number) _____(17)

1. Yes
2. No

77. If you could make changes that would make the school a better place for you to work, what three changes would be most important to you? _____(18-20)

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____

78. What do you understand to be the purposes of an accountability system? _____(21-22)

1. _____
2. _____
3. Circle if not applicable or don't know

79. Would you like to know more about accountability systems? _____(23)

1. Yes 2. No 3. Not applicable

80. Why would you like to know more about accountability systems? _____(24-25)

1. _____

2. _____

81. Who could you ask in your school district for more information about accountability systems? _____(26)

1. _____

_____

2. Circle if not applicable or don't know

82. Do you know if your school district has an accountability system? (circle number) _____(27)

1. Yes 2. No 3. Not sure

83. If your answer is "yes" to the above question, in any way are you directly involved in the accountability system? (circle number) _____(28)

1. Yes 2. No 3. Not sure or Don't know

84. In what ways are you directly involved in the school district's accountability system? _____(29-31)

1. _____

_____

_____

2. _____

_____

_____

3. Circle if not applicable or don't know

85. How would you rate the school district's accountability system in achievement of its goals? (circle number) _____(32)

1. Excellent
2. Very good
3. Good
4. Average
5. Fair
6. Poor
7. Not applicable or don't know

86. What suggestions might be helpful in improving the school district's accountability system? _____(33-36)

1. _____

_____

2. _____

_____

3. _____

_____

4. Circle if not applicable or don't know

BLANK (37-79)

Thank You Again

CARD #2 (80)

APPENDIX F:

INTERVIEW OUTLINE

Instructions To Interviewer:

The interview is designed to be open-ended and free-flowing. It has been arranged into six topic areas to be covered, and a conclusion. Under each topic are some suggested questions, which are to serve as a guide to what you might ask. In no way should this be taken as a "checklist" type of interview and should be referred to only to keep the interview flowing smoothly. Several of the questions have asterisks. These are areas which really need to be covered during the interview. Again, try to be as unstructured as possible as long as it is productive. All answers should be from their point of view.

Opening Statement by Interviewer:

As you know, my colleagues and I from Teachers College, Columbia University are doing a study of the *Kepler* School System. Many people have been asked to fill out a printed questionnaire. In addition, some people, like you, are being asked to talk with us individually. You were chosen because of the kind of work you do and by chance. The choice has nothing to do with you personally. Some others will be interviewed personally too. Before we begin, let's review why we are here and what this is all about. Can you tell me your understanding of this study? Is there anything about the study that needs clarification? (Refer to general statement.)

All right. Now, I'd like to learn as much as I can about how this organization works. To do that I'd like to ask you a number of questions. By the time we are finished, I'd like to feel I know pretty much how things go around here. Whatever you tell me will be confidential.

Topics With Suggested Questions:

A. Entry, Recruitment and First Impressions

1. What were the circumstances in your coming to this school system?

2. What were your first impressions when you came here? How have they changed since?

3. What kind of person is likely to apply for a job here?

*4. Tell me what is done here to help a person along once he starts to work in this school system. (Anything else?) With respect to helping a person along, how does the school system get people started? What happened to you when you got started; and when did you start? How much and what kind of training do people get?

B. Specific Role Experience

*1. What do you do here? What sort of place is this to do your job? Why?

2. Tell me about the people here. How are they to work with? Why?

3. If you were going to hire someone for a job like yours, what kind of a person would you hire?

*4. How do you find out how you are doing at your job? What happens when problems come up? (Give me some examples.) What kind of help can you look for and from whom?

5. What are the main rules around here that everyone has to follow? (Specify.) How well do they work?

6. What are the busy times around here? What is your workload like? Why? (Spell out.)

C. Information Systems

*1. What ways are there to find out what's going on around here? (Any others?)

2. How does the school system keep up with what's going on elsewhere? What kind of things is it most interested in keeping up with? (Note "things" is plural.)

*3. How does the school system make use of a person's experience and ideas? (Give examples.)

4. What does the school system say it stands for? How does it get its message across? (Both what media and how effectively.) What do outsiders think of the school system? (Please specify which groups have which attitudes.) Why? (For each.) How do you know?

D. Dynamic System Properties

*1. Make believe this school system is a person. Think about the person for a minute. Describe that person to me so I can get a good idea of the picture you have in mind. Is he/she always like this? (If not, what other pictures come to mind?)

2. How much energy (pep, bounce, get-up-and-go) does the school system have? All the time? In what ways is this energy useful, or is it just spinning wheels? (Give examples.) How strong is this school system? (Tell me what you mean.)

3. How much do the people here really know about what they're doing?

*4. A little while ago I asked you to pretend this school system was a person and to describe the person. Think about that person again for a minute. . . think of that person doing something. What is he/she doing?

E. Future

1. Suppose you were the head of this school system and had to make long range plans for it. What do you think would be the most important things about the school system that you should have to keep in mind in making these plans.

2. Suppose this school system had to stop doing some of the things it now does. Assuming you job would not be affected, what should not be changed? Why?

3. What future do you see for this school system? (Why?)

F. Does This School System Have an Accountability System?

1. If answer is YES, then can you describe its purposes and how it works. In what ways are you involved? How has it affected the people here?

2. If answer is NO, then has this district ever had an accountability system? Can you tell me about it. How did it work, were you involved? How did it affect the people here.

3. If answer is NO to both the above, then what do you understand to be the goals and purposes of an accountability system, what questions do you have about accountability?

   Do you think this school district will ever have an accountability system? Why or why not? (When?) If it were to have an accountability system, could you suggest the effect it would have on you and on others in your school system? (Can the respondent use adjectives to describe this effect.)

Interviewer Note: By "effect" we mean what changes: education, roles, tasks and activities, "routine" changes, structural changes, and then finally burdens on the teachers (or time saving features). "Effect" also suggests changes in a person's emotional outlook towards others and towards his work.

G. Conclusion

1. Thinking back over the things we've talked about, do you think most people here would look at these things the same way you do? Why?

2. I've asked you a lot of questions. Do you have any you'd like to ask me? Do you have any questions about our study? Thank you for your help.